

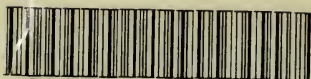


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The topography of the Basin
of the Tay

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THE TOPOGRAPHY
OF
THE BASIN OF THE TAY.

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EDINBURGH:
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Engraved for Hoag's Geography of the River of the Tyne. Published 1837

THE TOPOGRAPHY
OF THE
BASIN OF THE TAY.

INTENDED AS A COMPANION
TO THE
MAP OF THE BASIN OF THE TAY.

BY
JAMES KNOX,
AUTHOR OF THE MAPS OF THE BASIN OF THE FIRTH OF FORTH,
THE SHIRE AND CITY OF EDINBURGH, &c. &c.

WITH THREE BEAUTIFUL ENGRAVINGS.

EDINBURGH :
JOHN ANDERSON, JUN. 55, NORTH BRIDGE STREET ;
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MDCCCXXLI.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

CIRCUMSTANCES, over which the Author and Publishers had no control, caused the writing of this Work to be suspended for six months, while the engraving of the Map of the Basin of the Tay has occupied much longer time than was calculated it would require. The latter being now finished, rather than delay the publication till the Topography be completed, it is deemed expedient to submit to the Subscribers and to the Public, what is already prepared, forming a volume of moderate size. The Author acknowledges, that his researches regarding the Antiquities of this interesting portion of Scotland, have engaged his attention longer than he anticipated, and the Work has grown upon his hands. Before concluding the ancient Topography, he has something to say concerning the battle of Luncarty, Forteviot, and Abernethy. While engaged in these researches, the Author has been repeatedly asked, who were the Picts? Upon this subject, conscious of its difficulty, he had not intended to enter; but, upon reflection, he

is of opinion, that having endeavoured to give some account of the Antiquities of Pictavia, it will be proper that he briefly submit, with great deference, the result of his inquiries, as to the probable origin of the Picts. These matters he hopes to accomplish in three additional sheets, which will be given in next volume. A number of views of seats and scenery, having been taken and engraved, for the embellishment of this Topography, it was intended to insert these at the respective places, described in the modern portion of the Work; but it has been thought preferable to give three of them in the mean time; and they may be bound up in the forthcoming volume, in their proper places. The modern part will give an account of seats and scenery, with modern history, the agriculture, and the commerce of the districts included in the Map of the Basin of the Tay. Due attention will be paid to information communicated by those who have been so kind as to take an interest in the Work.

General titles will be given along with the second volume.

TIPPERLINNE,
1st March, 1831.

ERRATA.

Page 6, *for* Roman arms, *read* Roman arm.
— 167, *for* Dog Latin, *read* Dogs' Latin.

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Engraved for Jones's Topography of the Basin of the Tay - Published 1st March 1831.

After Cassin's Sketch

FINCASK CASTLE

The Seat of Sir D. Murray, Westphaland, Bar.

THE TOPOGRAPHY

OF

THE BASIN OF THE TAY.

THE Topography of a country seems to require, that it should be accompanied with historical notices concerning the region described ; not only to render it more interesting, but also to assist the memory, by connecting localities with events : for, unless the actions and sentiments of man be associated with external nature, the best descriptions soon tire the reader.

In attempting, therefore, to give an account of the Basin of the Tay, and the other parts of the country included in the Map, of which this work is intended to be the companion, we shall endeavour to supply such notices of its history, as will be sufficient to connect it with books of more importance. To these we shall refer, rather than detail events already related by historians, whose pages are of easy access.

The history of Scotland commences toward the end of the first century of the Christian era. At this period,

the greater part of the civilized world had submitted to the victorious arms of Rome. It was in South Britain where, according to Tacitus, "Vespasian was shewn to the fates," and he now wielded the energies of the mighty Roman empire. Upon his accession to the throne of the Cæsars, he appointed skilful commanders in the provinces ; and in Britain, Petilius Cerealis subdued the Brigantes, who inhabited the north of England. He was succeeded by Julius Frontinus, who conquered the Silures, the inhabitants of South Wales. In the year

78, Cneius Julius AGRICOLA took the command ; and, having subdued the Ordovices of North Wales, with Mona, or the island of Anglesey, his unconquered legions, urging their way through countries till then unknown, invaded North Britain.

In this year, the history of Scotland
A. D. 79. begins with the Roman invasion, under Julius Agricola, Titus being now emperor of the Romans : and every thing related by our historians concerning Scotland, prior to this date, is pure fable. Tacitus, who was long procurator of Belgic Gaul, wrote the life of Agricola, his father-in-law, in the year of Christ 97, as has been shewn by Brotier, being the first year of Trajan. He has been called the eagle of history ; and, truly, his track is sublime ; but, so elevated, he seldom stoops to notice particulars of minor importance : concise in narration, and sometimes abrupt, we have to follow him in the essay to trace the operations of Agricola in North Britain. Partial to his father-in-law, and sincere in the admiration of his talents, both as a statesman and a warrior, he celebrates his great actions with an eloquence which, perhaps, has

never been surpassed. He is suspected, however, by the learned Mr Pinkerton, of abridging the fame of Petilius Cerealis, in order to enhance that of Agricola. The former seems not only to have completely subdued the Brigantes, but also to have struck such terror into the neighbouring tribes of the Otadeni and Damnii, that they soon after yielded to the Romans; so that Agricola advanced to the Tay, without any formidable opposition. This appears much more probable, than the conjecture of Mr Chalmers,* the ingenious author of *Caledonia*, that the Solway was the Tay of Tacitus; and that Nithsdale and Galloway were the scenes of Agricola's first operations in Scotland. The Roman works, in that quarter, seem to belong to a later period of the empire; and a skilful commander, approaching from the south, would prefer carrying his arms into Teviotdale and Lothian, rather than into the defiles of the South Highlands. Here we cannot avoid remarking, that every virtuous mind must revolt at the unprincipled aggression of the Romans, in thus invading sterile and inhospitable regions, which they covered with blood, in their attempts to compel the miserable inhabitants to submit to their dominion. Cause of war there was none. When Julius Cæsar displayed the Roman ensigns on the shores of South Britain, 55 years before Christ, he pretended that he chastised the natives for assisting their friends and allies in Gaul, in their efforts to preserve their liberties: but Agricola had no such excuse; at least Tacitus gives no hint of provocation; and yet that virtuous Roman expresses

* Chalmers follows Horsley in this conjecture. See HORSLEY'S *Brit. Romana*, p. 43.

no sort of compunction at the march of his father-in-law, for the purpose of subjecting the hardy tribes of Caledonia to the yoke of Rome.

A. D. 80. Agricola, advancing into North Britain, carried his ravages to the estuary of the Tay. “*Usque ad Taum (æstuario nomen est.)*” The enemy durst not meet him in the field, and no pitched battle was fought ; but his army was greatly distressed with the severities of the climate. He constructed forts in the most commodious situations, which were executed with such judgment, that none of them were taken by force, abandoned through fear, or given up on terms of capitulation. Each fort was supplied with provisions for a year, that it might be able to sustain a long siege. Thus, the several garrisons not only passed the winter in security, but, from their strongholds, made frequent excursions against the enemy. During this expedition, he probably established the post at Loch Ore, in Fifeshire, which is of the permanent, or stationary kind : it is vain, however, to suppose, that it held the army of Agricola, before the battle with Galgacus ; or even the ninth legion, when it was attacked in the year previous to that engagement ; for this post would not hold more than two cohorts, or about twelve hundred men. It seems to have been again occupied by the Romans at a later period of the empire ; for, on the side next the loch, there is a round turret, similar to those at Birrenswark hill, near Middleby, in the south of Scotland, and which are, undoubtedly, posterior to the age of Agricola. A battle has been fought in the vicinity of Loch Ore ; for we meet with East Blair, and West Blair* ; and *Blair*, in Gaelic, signifies a battle-field.

* Now Blair Adam.

Fragments of arms have frequently been turned up at these places; but traces of battle are found in the neighbourhood of many of the camps of the Romans, in Scotland. Sir Robert Sibbald is clearly of opinion that the ninth legion was attacked here; Gordon, in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, has no hesitation in expressing the same sentiment; Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, vol. i. is positive, that, in the camp at Loch Ore, this legion sustained the night assault. Not one of these antiquaries, however, has attempted to shew, that there ever were any vestiges of a camp in this quarter, that could contain a legion. As to the stations of the other two divisions of Agricola's army, Chalmers supposes one to have been at Dunearn Hill, and the other at the camps of Carnock; but there are no appearances at any of these places, that would indicate a camp sufficiently large to contain a division of the Roman army. Not one of these antiquaries has pointed out where Agricola encamped, before he divided his forces into three bodies. It was to the northward of the Forth, certainly, where the affair took place, as some of the Roman officers had advised their general to retreat, "*citra Bodotriam*," on this side the Forth. Mention is not made of the estuary; and Fife is not divided from Lothian by the river, but by an arm of the sea, called the Firth* of Forth. Agricola had carried his arms into the country of the Caledonians where this engagement happened; but, neither Tacitus, nor Ptolemy the geographer, nor Richard of Cirencester, place the Caledonians in Fife. Sir Walter Scott, in his *History of Scotland*, vol. i. says, the ninth legion was

* The above spelling, as derived from the Norwegian *fjord*, is here preferred to Frith, which Dr Johnson derives from *fretum*.

attacked in the vicinity of Loch Ore; but, Sir Walter offers nothing in support of his opinion.

This season Agricola, in order to secure
 A. D. 81. the country he had overrun, employed his army in building a chain of forts, on the isthmus between the Firths of Forth and Clyde: the enemy being driven, as it were, into another island. Here, says Tacitus, had it been compatible with the bravery of the army, or if the glory of the Roman name would have permitted it, there had been a boundary to their conquests in Britain. It is probable that, during this summer, Agricola pushed forward, and established posts at Keir, and at Ardoch, in order to facilitate his advance into Caledonia.

This year, says Tacitus, Agricola crossed
 A. D. 82. the Firth with his army, himself passing in the first ship; and it would appear that he overran Renfrewshire, Ayrshire, and Galloway. The Firth to which the historian alludes, must have been the Firth of Clyde, which he probably crossed at Dunglas or Dumbarton; for, in many successful engagements, having subdued nations not before known to the Romans, he is said to have placed forts in that part of Britain which is opposite to Ireland. There is no probability that he marched to the Mull of Cantire, and no mark of the Roman arms has been found in the West Highlands; we conclude, therefore, that he placed his forts in the Rhynds of Galloway, the country of the *Novantæ*; and one of them is supposed to have been *Rerigonium*, now Stranraer, at the head of Loch Ryan. Tacitus informs us, that Agricola constructed these forts more with a view to future operations, than from any danger he immediately apprehended from that

quarter. Here it was that the Roman general received into his protection an Irish chief, or petty king, expelled by the civil dissensions of his country, and whom he retained, under the appearances of friendship, till a proper occasion. From him he no doubt learned all he wished to know concerning that island, and thence concluded, that a single legion, with a few auxiliaries, would be sufficient, not only to conquer, but even to keep it. Such an acquisition, from its situation between Britain and Spain, and the communication that might likewise be kept up between it and Gaul, would be of the utmost consequence, as well for connecting these distant members of the empire, as for securing Britain itself, when thus on every side the Roman power was seen established, and all national liberty banished, as it were, out of sight. This political wisdom was truly Roman. Ever with moderation in their mouths, they boasted that their practice was to spare the vanquished, and subdue the proud,—

“ Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos ;”

while they made kings themselves subservient to their purposes, in trampling on the liberties of mankind.

From the information thus received by Agricola, which induced him to conclude, as Tacitus says he had often heard him declare, “ *sæpe ex eo audiui,*” that a single legion, with a few auxiliaries, would suffice not only to conquer, but to keep Ireland, it seems reasonable to suppose that the island was then but thinly peopled, and, of course, that it had not been long inhabited. What is related of the very ancient colonization of Ireland is mere fiction—the invention of late years.

Of the pretended early civilization of the inhabitants not a trace remains, and no evidence can be found; on the contrary, they appear to have been always rude. Constantly subject to civil broil, and frequently exposed to foreign invasion, they submitted to the English arms under Henry II., the first of the Plantagenets, 1172; and, since that period, their progress in civilization has been slow.

Agricola, having conquered the West of Scotland, would naturally return to the isthmus between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, where his army would probably winter in the newly erected forts, and every preparation would be made to advance into Caledonia early in the next spring. Strathearn and Strathmore were undoubtedly the scenes of his operations during his two last campaigns; but antiquaries are exceedingly divided in opinion as to the situations of the camps he pitched, and the places where he fought, and, particularly, as to the field of the famous battle with Galgacus.* When the Roman camps at Ardoch first attracted attention, the rising ground to the northward was considered the scene of this celebrated battle. Among the last writers who entertain this idea is Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, who is decidedly of opinion that Agricola crossed the Ochils by Glendevon, and, deploying from Gleneagles, attacked Galgacus upon the muir of Orchil. After condemning, without ceremony, those who have different sentiments, he says, "There is a thread of sophistry, which, as it runs through the reasoning of all those writers on this point, it is time to cut, for the sake of truth;" and he records it as his deliberate

* Vide Appendix, A.

judgment, that the muir of Orchil was the place. As Chalmers is an author of some celebrity, and one whose industry has done much to illustrate the antiquities of Scotland, we shall here observe, that, if Agricola advanced into Strathearn by Glendevon, instead of turning the Ochils by Strathallan, it might perhaps be questioned, if he would have merited the character of an able general; and Galgacus, with little knowledge of the art of war, could hardly have failed to see the propriety of attacking the Romans on their march through the defiles of the mountains, rather than of waiting for them on the muir of Orchil,—a position which has no peculiar advantages, and, in military phrase, cannot even be called strong ground. Two large heaps of stones on this muir have been considered sepulchral cairns, and probably they are so; but it is not unlikely, they are also Druidical; and, at any rate, they do not indicate a great battle-field, which is usually marked with numerous cairns.

Gordon, in *Itin. Sept.*, thinks himself fortunate in finding, that Dealgin-Ross, near Comrie, exactly suited the circumstances mentioned by Tacitus; but, of the camps in Strathmore, he knew nothing. Some fix upon the neighbourhood of Blairgowrie; others, upon Battle Dykes, north of Forfar; while the Rev. Principal Playfair, of St Andrews, is of opinion, it was decided near Keithic, north of Brechin, where all the seven circumstances mentioned, and which, he thinks, must determine the question, correspond with the situation. But, unluckily, there are none of the other places proposed, to which the seven circumstances would not almost equally apply; and, what is also unfortunate, it seems clear that great battles have been fought near

most of the places mentioned ; and the names of these places, whether in Gaelic or in Saxon, refer to battle-fields. The late Colonel Shand, of the artillery, suggested the neighbourhood of the Roman camp at Finteach, in the gorge of Glenalmond ; Fortingal, in Glenlyon, has also been propounded. Maitland, who first traced Roman roads and encampments north of the Tay, on discovering the camp at Rae Dykes, north of Stonehaven, pointed out Urie Hill, as the true place ; and many have adopted his opinion.—*Hist. of Scot.* pub. 1757.

A few years ago, the Rev. Mr Small, Edenshead, on finding traces of a great battle in the vicinity of his residence, near Strathmiglo, in the north-west of Fife, concluded that to be the identical place where Agricola encountered Galgacus. Providence, says the learned author, seems at length to have removed the veil which so long concealed the true situation of this famous battle. The Roman general, marching from Loch Ore by the east end of Loch Leven, crossed the efflux of the stream, and turning the West Lomond, found the Caledonians posted on a gentle acclivity to the southward of Balcanquhal, on the skirts of the Ochils. Here a large cairn marks the place where Galgacus sustained the first onset of the Romans ; and, having beat them back near to the base of the West Lomond, another cairn marks the slaughter at this place. Galgacus drove the Romans before him to the eastward for a couple of miles, between the Miglo, or Eden Water, and the Lomonds. Near Meralsford the Romans wheeled, and, falling upon the Caledonians, in disorder from the too eager pursuit, made dreadful havoc in the neighbourhood of the ford, where several cairns, and two or three

deep pits full of skulls, shew the nature of the work performed here. The ground, says Mr Small, points out itself where Agricola must have stood during the engagement; and a standing stone, at no great distance, on the north side of the stream, marks the grave of a man of rank, whom he conjectured to be Aulus Atticus; and, on digging to some depth, his skeleton was found. According to tradition, the burn which falls into the Eden at Meralsford ran with blood for two days after the action. The Caledonians rallied, and fought on both sides of the stream; but, being finally routed, were pursued to *Blair-head*, considerably to the westward. After the battle, the 9th legion encamped at Edenshead. Such, from memory, is Mr Small's account of the battle with Galgacus, in his *Rom. Ant.* pub. 1823. Though not convinced by his arguments, we admire his sincerity, and respect both his piety and his patriotism. The learned author does not point out where the army of Agricola encamped, and he seems not to have paid much attention to Roman castrametation: from the measurements he gives of the intrenchments at Edenshead, they would not contain a cohort. He makes no distinction between Roman forts, which are square, and the strengths of the natives, which are round or elliptical, and perched on the tops of hills. Of the fortified places which he mentions, the posts at Ardgargie and Carpow, at the confluence of the Earn and the Tay, are Roman, and perhaps one or two more. His principal argument is deduced from the number of urns, ashes of the dead, and half-burnt bones, found near Strathmiglo; but antiquaries have clearly shewn, that it was the practice of the British tribes to burn their dead, and to make use of urn sepulture. They

sometimes enclosed the ashes in a stone chest, *Cistvaen*; sometimes the body was interred in a stone coffin; at other times, it was deposited in a cairn, without any coffin, according to circumstances. Urns, and the ashes of the dead, are found in, or near, almost all Druidical monuments, and in many parts of Scotland, as well in the islands as on the mainland, where Roman foot never trod. The coins, arms, and utensils of that people have been found in different parts of Fife, which might be expected, as this shire, for about thirty years, formed part of the Roman province of Vespasiana, to be afterwards mentioned; and it was divided from the province of Valencia only by the Firth of Forth. If Roman remains be found in the parish of Strathmiglo, it does not follow that the Romans were concerned in the battle fought in the neighbourhood, and certainly is no proof that here Agricola encountered Galgacus. As to the *Urbs Orrea*, which the learned author discovered at the base of the West Lomond, and the *Lindum*, at Lundin, near Largo, it is probable that the ancient houses found at these places belonged to the natives, as the Romans did not burrow in the ground. At any rate, these remains could not be the *Orrea* and *Lindum* of Ptolemy and Richard. The immense collections of stones to be seen on the Lomonds, resemble the monuments of Druidical superstition found in similar situations, and will not warrant the conclusion, that on these hills the Romans celebrated the orgies of Bacchus. The learned author does not seem happy in some of his etymologies. Meralsford, he derives from *Marvelous-ford*, on account of the pits full of skulls in its vicinity. *Meralsford*,* in Gaelic, means *The uncertain*

* Gaelic Dictionary.

ford, probably from the Eden's being subject to sudden floods. In the opinion of Mr Small, Tacitus was mistaken in saying the battle was fought at *Mons Grampius*; the historian should have said *Mons Lomundus*; for, had it been at the former, it would have been *Montes Grampii*. Truly, if it had been at the latter, it does not appear why it should not have been *Colles Lomundi*, these hills being generally spoken of in the plural number. But, unfortunately for this hypothesis, there is no authority upon the subject but Tacitus. If he be in error, there is no remedy.

In a learned essay, concerning the site of the battle of *Mons Grampius*, by Lieut. Colonel Miller, F. R. S., London, lately read to the Antiquarian Society of Scotland, the Colonel also endeavours to shew, that the neighbourhood of Meralsford, in the vale of Eden, was the scene of action between Agricola and Galgacus. But he differs entirely from Mr Small as to the positions respectively occupied by the Romans and Caledonians prior to the engagement, and also with regard to the progress of the battle. The former he supposed to have encamped in the vicinity of Falkland, and the latter to have been posted on the Lomond hills. Sensible that it will not do to find Tacitus in a mistake, he concludes the Lomonds to have been actually the *Mons Grampius* of the historian. He follows Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, in the etymology of *Grampius*, and derives the name from two words in the Welsh language, *Gran-pen*, Head-ridge. These words are also said to signify the shelving or precipitous ridge, not inapplicable to the Lomonds. Near Falkland, square ramparts have been discovered, or at least existed twenty-four years ago, and large enough to contain the Roman army.

The ninth legion sustained the night assault the previous year, on the terrace hill of Markinch. Agricola marched to its rescue from his camp at Dunearn hill; and we forget where the third division of his army was supposed to have been posted at that critical moment. It is mentioned in *Stat. Acco.* vol. ii. p. 429. that about a mile to the northward of Bruntisland, there are the remains of a strength, called "Agricola's Camp." The name, however, is supposed not to be older than the writings of Sir R. Sibbald, though it is not improbable that Agricola may have encamped in the neighbourhood of the best harbour in the Firth. The vestiges on Dunearn hill indicate a British fort; and no traces of Roman intrenchments are now to be seen in the vicinity. As the terrace hill of Markinch never was a Roman camp, we shall not here stop to inquire by whom, or for what purpose, these terraces were formed. They are similar to those met with elsewhere, particularly in Tweeddale, where the terrace hill, in the parish of Newlands, is often examined by the antiquary. As to the square ramparts said to be discovered near Falkland, or which existed twenty-four years ago, if these be Roman intrenchments, it is not necessary to look for the field of battle where Agricola defeated Galgacus in that quarter, since so many Roman camps have already been discovered at the foot of the Grampians. Agricola having carried his ravages to the estuary of the Tay, in his first campaign in North Britain; and also in the fourth, having employed his fleet in conjunction with his land forces, in exploring the coasts and communities beyond *Bodotria*, it has been thought strange that Roman camps have not hitherto been found in Fife, capable of holding the army of Agricola,

or even a legion ; and the discovery of such intrenchments in the vale of Eden would be satisfactory. They were unknown to Sir R. Sibbald, 1710. They are not marked in Ainslie's Map of Fife, 1755 ; and it is possible the supposed intrenchments may have been only part of the fence of the Royal Chase, or Royal Demesne of Falkland. We are aware, that, half a mile to the westward of Nuthill, there are four parallel mounds, in the form of inverted wedges, in length, from 750 to 900 feet. These mounds, however, have not the appearance of having formed part of a camp, and are supposed to be sepulchral barrows. If the Britons had been posted on the Lomonds, as supposed by Colonel Miller, they would have waited the attack of their enemies in a most unfavourable situation. These hills being an isolated ridge, the position could be easily turned, and if Agricola, instead of advancing on the east by Falkland, had marched to the westward, and encamped near Balcanquhal on the skirts of the Ochils, he would effectually have intercepted the supplies of the army of Galgacus, who must either have surrendered, or descended into the low grounds, and fought at disadvantage. To attack the Caledonians in their position, the Roman general would not have turned it at all, the Lomonds being more accessible on the south and east than on the north and west. From the History of Scotland, it does not appear that any great battle was ever fought in Fife, except with the Norwegians and Danes. The English Edwards, and other commanders, in their progress northward, always advanced by Stirling ; and there is every reason to conclude, that Agricola did the same. On the other hand, if Galgacus had been so unwise as to attempt to

lead 30,000 Caledonians into Fife, rude though the tribes were, they would hardly have followed him into a place from which they could not easily get out,—a *cul de sac*. With regard to the etymology of *Grampius*, it is very dubious; and the derivation proposed by Chalmers, from the Welsh *Gran-pen*, has not been considered satisfactory; in as much as “shelving and precipitous” would apply equally to the Grampians and to the Lomonds, and to fifty other ridges. That the historian could not mean the Lomonds by *Mons Grampius*, we might infer from the battle having been fought in the country of the Caledonians. These tribes are placed to the north and westward of the Grampians, by Ptolemy and Richard; and all ancient authority, history, and tradition, assign the same locality to these mountains which they have at present, and are silent as to any other having ever borne that appellation. The discovery, therefore, that Tacitus meant the Lomonds, comes too late; and being founded on vague etymology, appears to be altogether inadmissible. In hearing the essay read, we may have misunderstood the Colonel in some particulars, and on that account, may not have done justice to his views; but of one thing we are satisfied, that no modification of his hypothesis will ever bring it within the shadow of probability that the site of the battle of *Mons Grampius* could be within the precincts of Fife. For this reason, we think it unnecessary to notice a dissertation on the same subject by the Rev. Mr Small, also read lately to the Antiquarian Society, except by observing, that neither the learned author, nor Colonel Miller, has any thing satisfactory to offer regarding the country of the Horestii, into which Agricola marched his army after encountering Galgacus.

It seems requisite that we should say something concerning the battle of Meralsford. According to tradition, this great battle was fought with the Danes, in the beginning of the eleventh century. In the days of Malcolm II. or of his successor Duncan, these terrible northmen landed to the eastward, and advanced through the vale of Eden, toward Strathearn, with the intention of plundering Forteviot, when they were met by the Scots at Meralsford, and defeated with great slaughter. A mile south of the town of Auchtermuchty, there is a village still called *Daneshalt*; and near it are the remains of a camp, consisting of five concentric circular trenches, nearly equidistant from one another. "The Danes," says Principal Playfair, "who invaded the country, were here checked in their progress, defeated, and compelled to retreat." *Des. of Scot.* vol. i. p. 385. At a short distance, there is a place called Daneshill; and the pits full of skulls, discovered near Meralsford, seem also to confirm the tradition. The Romans, it is well known, never took the trouble of cutting the heads off their fallen enemies; but our savage ancestors being, with good reason, dreadfully exasperated at the repeated invasions of the barbarous northmen, were in the practice of chopping off the heads of those who fell in battle; and being of a religious disposition, instead of singing *Te Deum* after a victory, they built the skulls of the Pagans into the walls of their churches. So, at Gamrie, in Buchan, where the Danes were defeated, in the reign of Indulf, about the middle of the tenth century, near the vestiges of their camp, there is a place still called *The Bloody Pits*. A church was soon after erected near the scene of action, into the walls of which several of the skulls of the piratical northmen were

built; and there they still remain. *Stat. Acco.* vol. i. p. 469. So, also, at Mortlach, in Aberdeenshire, where the Danes were defeated, in the reign of Malcolm II., 1010, their skulls were built into the walls of the church, and remained till recent times. *Stat. Acco.* vol. xvii. p. 444. It is likely that the skulls of the northmen who fell at Meralsford, were deposited in pits, in order to be afterwards built into the walls of a church, to be erected near the spot, but which the ensuing civil commotions prevented from being carried into effect.

Of those who have treated of the campaigns of Agricola, the greatest deference is due to the opinion of General Roy, as being himself particularly skilful in judging of the places proper for the encampment of armies; and, from experience, acquainted with their movements in the field, he was well qualified to illustrate a subject to which he had devoted much attention. Though he does not fix upon the place where Agricola defeated Galgacus, he inclines to think it should be looked for near Fettercairn, or Monboddo, or perhaps to the eastward of these places, and nearer to Stonehaven. It is evident from this, that the General was satisfied the true place had not been discovered, at the time he wrote his *Roman Antiquities of North Britain*. Some antiquaries think this battle-field should be looked for still farther north, and somewhere in the shire of Aberdeen. Richard of Cirencester, who is supposed to have written in the beginning of the 14th century, and to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of the Roman province of Vespasiana, leans to this opinion.

Tacitus says the battle was fought at *Mons Grampius*, “*ad Montem Grampium*,” which may be properly

translated The Grampian Mountains, it being common with the Romans to express a mountain range in the singular number ; as, *Mons Uxellum*, a chain of hills in the south of Scotland, extending from Cheviot to Loch Ryan ; another chain in the north, extending from Ben Wyvis to the Ord-head, bore the same name ; and, *Mons Oscellum*, The Ochils, which stretch from the Bridge of Allan to Newburgh. These three ranges seem to have derived their names from the British word *uchel*, high. The Grampians form the greatest mountain range in Britain. They consist of groups of hills, and sometimes of double ranges, with numerous ramifications running out in all directions ; but the general bearing is north-east and south-west, stretching from Ben Lomond to the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, a distance of upwards of 100 miles, and in breadth from 10 to 30.* The map of the Basin of the Tay contains a large portion of these mountains. There is no evidence that any particular height, in this lofty range, ever was distinguished by the name of *Mons Grampius*, or The Grampian Mountain. Buchanan calls Ben Lomond, *Granz Ben*, which seems akin to the Welsh *Gran-pen*, already mentioned ; but he does not hint that it was the Mons Grampius of Tacitus, and there is no probability that Agricola fought at the foot of Ben Lomond. Camden, who wrote a short description of Scotland in the 16th century, thinks a particular mountain bore the name of *Mons Grampius* ; but as he neither points it out, nor mentions the authority upon which he founds his opinion, no importance can be attached to his con-

* Prin. Playfair includes, under the name of Grampians, the Highlands south of the Caledonian Canal, in breadth from 40 to 60 miles.

jecture. A mountain near the Moray Firth is called *Mons Grampius* by Richard of Cirencester; but he was mistaken in supposing that the Grampians extended to Kinnaird's Head: he must mean either Mormond, an isolated hill in Buchan, near to that promontory, or Knoc-hill* in Banffshire, a few miles south of Portsoy, both far beyond the Grampian Mountains. *Mormond* means great hill; or, it may be derived from *mar* or *mer*, the sea, being an important land-mark. As to the meaning or derivation of the word *Grampians*, since it is not Gaelic, and does not appear to be British, we can only hazard a conjecture. *Gram* is old Gothic for a warrior, and many of the Gothic kings have that appellation: the Celtic Graham, supposed to be derived from *grumach*, grim, seems to be from the same etymon, many roots being common to the Gothic and Celtic, and to other languages: it is, therefore, probable, that the word was Pictish, derived from the same root; and, in that case, the Grampians would mean the Mountains of the Warriors. In Norway, according to Torfæus, in early times, every independent leader was called *Gram*, and his soldiers *Grams*; "*Gramus appellabatur, milites vero Grami.*" Hist. Nor. tom. i. p. 379.

From what has been stated, it is evident, that the particular place in the Grampian range where Galgacus was defeated, is left to conjecture, since it cannot be determined by the indefinite expression of the Roman historian.

We left Agricola in his winter quarters on the isthmus between the Firths of Forth and Clyde; and it may be proper, before accompanying him into Caledonia, that

* *Knoc hill* is a pleonasm: *knoc*, in Gaelic, signifies a hill.

we endeavour to give an account of the remains of Roman works which have been discovered in the countries he invaded, as it is from an attentive examination of these works that we are most likely to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion respecting his movements. While thus engaged, we must guard against an error into which some antiquaries have fallen, of ascribing all Roman remains found in Scotland to Agricola, whose great actions have been so much celebrated by his eloquent son-in-law. Many Roman generals warred in North Britain, among whom the exploits of Lollius Urbicus appear to have exceeded those of Julius Agricola: for he built the wall of Antoninus, and carried the Roman arms to the Moray Firth; but, not having the advantage of a Tacitus to depict his campaigns, they have comparatively excited little interest. He subdued Vespasiana, reducing it to the form of a Roman province; and we may therefore reasonably conclude, that several of the Roman camps found in Strathmore were either constructed or re-occupied by Lollius Urbicus. But to shew the impropriety of ascribing Roman remains to Agricola, without due consideration, it will only be necessary to enumerate the commanders and emperors who successively displayed the Roman ensigns in North Britain. First appeared Julius Agricola; and after him came Vectius Bolanus, who, according to Statius, erected many works in Britain, and apparently in the north; he was followed by Lucullus; and next came the emperor Hadrian; then Lollius Urbicus, already mentioned; and after him came Ulpus Marcellus, a bold and skilful commander, who was followed by Clodius Albinus, under Didius Julianus and Pertinax. The Emperor Severus, with his sons Geta and Caracalla,

warred with the Caledonians, as did Constantius Chlorus and Constantine I.; also Constans, Theodosius, and Gallio. In writing these names, we cannot but admire the generous and manly love of freedom which animated a gallant people contending for their liberties. During 346 years, the ablest Roman generals, and emperors themselves, at the head of powerful armies, were foiled in their attempts to reduce the Caledonians to submission. It will now be abundantly evident, how difficult it must be for any judicious antiquary to determine what works were executed by Agricola in Scotland. But, in the midst of this uncertainty, we have the relation of Tacitus, and the excellent commentary upon the campaigns of Agricola, by General Roy, to whom we are indebted for the measurements of the camps, and the calculations founded upon them. Fortunate in having such a guide, we shall give some account of the works of the Romans discovered in Strathearn and Strathmore; but, before doing so, it will be necessary that we endeavour briefly to explain the composition of the Roman armies, and their system of castrametation.

Polybius of Greece, in his *General History*, B. vi. Ext. 2d. minutely describes the constitution of the legion, and the Roman method of encamping. This eminent Arcadian was a strenuous supporter of the interests of the Achæan league. He afterwards lived at Rome, much esteemed: being skilled in civil affairs, and of much experience in war, he became the preceptor of the younger Scipio. He died, at an advanced age, 124 years before the Christian era; and, as he lived in the best days of the Roman republic, his account of the civil and military institutions of that wonderful people

is particularly valuable. The legion, as then constituted, has been called the Polybian legion, and the method of encamping then practised by the Romans, the Polybian system. The composition of the legion, the Roman order of battle, and system of castrametation, were so perfect, Vegetius says, they were undoubtedly the effect of inspiration only; and indeed there is a wonderful similarity in the marshalling of the Roman armies, and their method of encamping, to that of the Israelites while journeying through the wilderness under the direction of Heaven.

A Polybian legion consisted of 4,200 foot, and 300 horse; and the auxiliaries belonging to it amounted to the same number of foot, and 900 horse; so that a legion, with its auxiliaries, amounted to 8,400 foot, and 1,200 horse; in all, 9,600 men. But the numbers were sometimes increased in proportion to the conceived danger of the enterprize in which they were engaged, or the importance of the war to be carried on. Cæsar's legions, when he invaded Britain, consisted of 6,000 foot each, and the cavalry were proportionally increased. Agricola had the command of three Roman legions, viz. the 2d, 9th, and 20th; and it would appear that they were on the Polybian establishment; for, in the battle with Galgacus, Tacitus says, the auxiliary foot consisted of 8,000, and 3,000 horse were posted on the wings. Agricola had near his person the extraordinaries, and the Roman horse would be on the flanks of the legions,—in all, 3,600 horse; which corresponds exactly with the cavalry of three Polybian legions and their auxiliaries. Agricola had also a body of South Britons, upon whom he could depend; and it is likely that his army amounted

altogether to 36,000: and, leaving 10,000 dispersed in different garrisons, he would advance into Caledonia at the head of nearly 26,000 men. We must bear this in mind, when we examine the Roman camps found in Strathearn and Strathmore, and which correspond with those that Vegetius says were of the best proportion, their breadth being in general two-thirds of their length. The Roman castrametation, as described by Polybius, seems to have undergone no great variation, till about the time of Hadrian, when considerable alterations were made, both in the form of the camp, and in the distribution of the troops. The simplicity, convenience, and regularity of the Polybian camp began to be neglected; the military discipline of the Romans being on the decline, they grudged the labour of throwing up the usual extent of intrenchment, and rather chose to be pent up in a third of their wonted space; which they must have found the more inconvenient, that their cavalry was now augmented greatly beyond the number anciently made use of in their armies, while a much greater space was allotted to the *Prætorium*, or general's tent. Heginus, who lived in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, also describes the Roman castrametation. Three legions, with their auxiliaries, he calls a complete army; but such an army, upon his system, would have amounted to 42,000. Had the great camp at Ardoch been occupied in the style and manner of Heginus, it would have contained 67,406 men; and, when it is considered that the whole army could not have been in the field, the Romans must have had 75,000 or 80,000 men employed in Britain, a number by far too great to be credible. Now, the great camp at Ardoch, upon the Polybian system, would hold 26,000, which

we have shewn was the number with which Agricola advanced into Caledonia. Unless, therefore, we believe the uncircumstantial and improbable account of Dion, of the expedition of Severus into the remote parts of Britain, in which he is said to have lost 50,000 men, it seems reasonable to conclude, that most of the large camps which would contain 26,000 men, were those actually occupied by Agricola. In the Heginian system of castrametation, the traverses which defend the gates are semicircular; but, in all the camps found in Strathearn and Strathmore, the traverses are straight, excepting the small camp at Dealgin Ross, the gates of which are protected by semicircular *claviculae*, * overlapping one another, so as to render the defence very strong. In Britain, there is only one other small camp at Pickering, in Yorkshire, having the gates fortified in this manner, and which had, probably, been occupied by the same legion which encamped at Dealgin Ross, and supposed to have been the ninth, which we are told was weak: on that account, it is likely, it had strengthened the gates in this particular form, when it had occasion to encamp separately. It seems not to have been till late in the empire, that the Romans adopted flankers, even of the circular kind, to their fortifications. We find no turrets to the camps in the north of Scotland; but, the angles are rounded off a little, as well as those of almost all the *castra stativa* (permanent camps) in Britain. The camp at Inchtuthil is different from those which would appear to have been constructed by Agricola; it seems to have been occupied in the Heginian style, and upon that system would have contained 29,000 men.

* *Clavis*, a key. *Clavicula*, the tendril of a vine.

According to the Polybian system, a consular camp, containing two legions and their auxiliaries, was square, and had four gates. The *Prætorium* was placed behind the legions; and opposite to the general's quarters, in the front of the camp, was the prætorian gate, sometimes called the quæstorian gate, because the quæstor had charge of its defence. Behind the *Prætorium*, in the rear of the camp, was the Decumen gate, so called, because criminals were led out at that gate for execution, when the severe discipline of the Romans required that the troops should be decimated, and every tenth man suffered. The two gates in the sides of the camp, were called the principal gates, as being at the ends of the principal street, which crossed the camp, in front of the *Prætorium*. Upon the right and left of the general's tent, were those of the legate and quæstor, and in a line with these, along the principal street, were the tents of the tribunes. The street of next importance, was that leading from the prætorian and decumen gates. These two streets were crossed at right angles by others, which were parallel either to the one last mentioned or to the principal street. A double consular camp was oblong, and had six gates; two camps being joined, as it were, back to back. The camp of a single legion was square, and had four gates. That of a single legion, with its auxiliaries, was oblong, and had six gates, like a double consular camp. A Heginian camp was square, and had always four gates, whatever were the number of troops it contained. As the empire continued to decline, the square and oblong forms of the camps of the ancient Romans were more and more neglected, while the number of gates was increased.—Their camps were of two kinds :

the first were temporary, which the army occupied for a few days, and sometimes for a single night, according to circumstances; the second were *Castra Stativa*, stative, or stationary camps, that is, permanent camps, fortified with care, in which garrisons were placed; and in the neighbourhood of both are found redoubts, and exploratory posts.—Some antiquaries pretend to discern a difference between the *castra æstiva et hyberna*, the summer and winter camps of the Romans; but neither Polybius nor Heginus make any such distinction; nor Vegetius, who wrote upon the art of war, and who would not have failed to mark the difference, if it had existed. Cæsar puts *castra hyberna* for winter quarters, and *castra æstiva* for the summer campaign; so, Nepos puts *castra nautica* for the rendezvous of a fleet.—In the choice of situations for encamping, Vegetius says, they preferred a gentle eminence in the neighbourhood of water, and which was not commanded by higher ground: the confluence of two rivers, or streams, was likewise a favourite place, regard being always had to its not being liable to be flooded.—But enough, it is hoped, has been said, to enable us to form some idea of the Roman camps, and of the general composition of the armies now about to “pitch their tents in the midst of the Caledonian hoar frosts.”

When Agricola ravaged the country, to the Firth of Tay, he would see that Fife was a sort of peninsula, covered on the north-west by a range of lofty hills; and, from his chain of forts between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, he would naturally proceed by Stirling, to turn the west flank of that natural barrier, in penetrating into Caledonia. His first encampment, A. D. 83. after leaving the isthmus, is supposed to have

been at Keir, the *Alauna* of Ptolemy and Richard. The intrenchments here have been levelled, but there seems reason to conclude that Keir was *Alauna*, both from the ancient and modern name, and also from its being such a situation, as Vegetius says, was a favourite with the Romans, either for encamping or forming a station; being on an eminence between the Teith and the Allan, near their confluence with the Forth. *Alauna* is plainly derived from Allan Water, and the modern name Keir, from the Celtic and British *Caer*, a fort, or town upon a hill. *Kior*, is Gothic for a grove, and probably from the same etymon. Cæsar says, the fortified towns of the natives of Britain were in groves. According to the 9th *Iter* of Richard, from the *Statio ad vallum*, supposed to be Camelon, and the *Caer Guidi* of Bede, the distance to *Alauna* is said to be 13 Roman miles, which corresponds with the real distance to Keir, of 12 English miles. The Grinnan hill of Keir, seems to have been a British fort, being of the circular kind, of which the Romans took possession, and fortified as an exploratory post, toward Strathallan.

Agricola's next encampment is supposed to have been at Ardoch, a little to the northward of that station, which is reckoned the most entire of the Roman *castra stativa* to be found in Britain. This permanent camp is situated on an eminence, adjoining the public road from Stirling to Crieff, where it crosses the water of Knaik, and immediately to the eastward; the road for some distance following the line of the western intrenchments. Ardoch signifies high hill, and evidently derives its name from this fort. There can be no doubt of its being the *Lindum* of Ptolemy and Richard, for the latter, in his 9th *Iter*, places *Lindum* 9 Roman miles

from *Alauna*, and Ardoch is $8\frac{1}{2}$ English miles from Keir. *Lindum* is supposed to signify a town in a grove, as Lundin and London. The Romans had fortified this station with great care, having surrounded it with six ramparts, great part of which are yet in a high state of preservation. From the general position of the gates and *Prætorium*, which are situated similarly to those of the Polybian camp, it may be observed, that the Romans, even in their stations, placed the *Prætorium* in the rear division of the work, or that which was farthest removed from the enemy. It is true, indeed, that here the *Prætorium* seems to have been marked off, probably from hurry, somewhat irregularly; neither being placed exactly in the middle between the two principal gates, nor having its sides truly parallel to those of the station.—From the inscription on a sepulchral stone, dug up at this place, and preserved at Drummond Castle, it is certain, that, at some time or other, here the first cohort of Spanish auxiliaries lay in garrison.—The fort is situated on ground naturally strong, having on the west the steep banks of the Knaik, above which it is elevated about 50 feet; on the south, and to the eastward, there was formerly a deep morass. It is oblong, being 420 feet by 375; the *Prætorium* rises above the level of the station, and is a regular square, each side of which is 60 feet; it exhibits marks of having been enclosed with a stone wall, and contains the foundations of a house 30 feet by 27. From one of the sides of the *Prætorium*, a hole is said to have proceeded downward in a sloping direction, for many fathoms. An old gentleman who lived at the house of Ardoch, about 1720, ordered the mouth of the hole to be covered with a millstone,

to prevent hares from running into it when pursued by his dogs; and, as earth was laid over the millstone to a considerable depth, the place cannot now be found, although diligent search has been made for it. Should it ever be discovered, it will probably lead to a tank, formed by the Romans to receive water filtered from the Knaik; similar to that some time ago discovered at Burgh-head, a Roman station on the Moray Firth, in which the sea water was found perfectly sweet. An urn was dug up, near the west side of the *Prætorium*, containing ashes and fragments of a human skull. The south side of the station has been under cultivation; but, a former proprietor, Sir William Stirling, enclosed the whole with a stone wall, and prohibited his tenants from levelling the ramparts or the remaining intrenchments of the camps to the northward; and it is to be hoped his successors will never permit these *vestigia* of the Romans to suffer from a ploughshare.

The station would contain about twelve hundred men; and, in defence of the fort, the inner ramparts rising above those without, the soldiers from the former could discharge their missiles with effect upon the besiegers, while six envelopes must have been successively stormed before it could be taken. Adjoining the north side of the station, is a *Procestrium*, (*pro castrum*, for a camp,) or addition to the original work; no doubt intended to hold in garrison a greater number of troops, on account of the importance of the post, and probably the baggage of Agricola's army, when he thought proper to divide it into three bodies, in that campaign in which the Caledonians so nearly destroyed the 9th legion; and also in the next, when his soldiers, leaving their heavy baggage, marched against Galgacus. The

Procestrium is oblong, being 1910 feet by 1340, and would hold 4000 men. One gate remains on the north side, while the south gate connects it with the station; on the west side are two small ponds, and the east has been ploughed down. The intrenchments have been much stronger than those of the large camp. It appears also to have been a subsequent work; for part of the area of the great camp being included in the *Procestrium*, the intrenchments of the former have been carefully levelled.*

To the north-west of the *Procestrium*, is the great camp, which is oblong, but not altogether a parallelogram, from which we see the Romans, at this period, occasionally yielded to the ground; the longest sides, however, being only a little deflected, would not hinder the regular distribution of the troops. The public road enters by the south gate, and in so doing has cut down one half of the epaulment which covered it; the other half remains to this day. The north gate is a little to the east of the egress of the highway, covered by a straight traverse, and another gate on the west side is similarly protected. Part of the intrenchment on the south end of the east side has been ploughed down; but the north gate on that side is defended, not only by a square redoubt within the lines, but also by a clavicle; from which it may be inferred that a weak legion was quartered in that part of the camp. There are two or three small ponds on the intrenchments, and the whole ground would not now be considered favourable for the encampment of an army, being rather of a

* A corner of the *Procestrium* is seen emerging from the parallel of latitude which bounds the map.

morassy nature ; but, in the first century, it might have been in a very different state. The mean length of the great camp is 2800, and its mean breadth 1950 feet : according to the Polybian system, it would hold between 25,000 and 26,000 men ; and we agree with General Roy in thinking it very probable that it was here Agricola encamped with his army, before dividing it into three bodies, as above mentioned ; and also, in the following year, before marching against Galgacus.

West of the great camp, and upon somewhat higher ground, is the little camp, situated half within and half without the former ; the public road passing through the north-east corner. It is oblong, being 1910, by 1340 feet, and would hold upwards of 12,000 men ; that is, more than a legion, with its auxiliaries ; and was probably constructed to hold that division of the army with which Agricola remained, after dividing his forces. It has evidently had six gates, three of which are still to be seen, covered by straight traverses. The south side, and a considerable portion of the west, have been ploughed down. One thing is very remarkable in the small camp, namely, that the Romans did not level that part of the intrenchments of the great camp, included within the area of the little one, which they must have found so troublesome, even from its obliquity, as to have entirely deranged the interior order and regularity of their encampment. It seems probable they marched in a hurry, without having had time to do it, and perhaps to succour the 9th legion, when it was attacked, immediately after the army was divided.

A mile and a half to the north-east of these camps, upon a ridge, called the Muir of Orchil, is Kaims, or Camp's Castle, a square redoubt, constructed by the

Romans as a lookout post, and from which is seen the stations of *Lindum* and *Hierna*, or Ardoch and Strageth. There are also upon this muir two huge cairns, one called Cairn Wochel, and the other Cairn Lee. The first is the largest, and, according to Gordon, is 182 feet in length, by 45 in breadth, and 30 in sloping height. The name seems Pictish, and akin to the celebrated *Pen-vahel*: we have no doubt that Cairn Wochel implies the cairn at the walls, from being in the vicinity of the Roman camps. In Richard's map, an altar is represented a little north of *Lindum*; it is probable Cairn Wochel is that altar, and that Cairn Lee is also a monument of Druidical superstition. In such cairns are generally found urns, or *Cist-vaen*, stone chests, containing ashes of the dead, and skeletons in stone coffins. Accordingly, on opening Cairn Wochel, a stone coffin was found, wherein was a skeleton *seven feet long*. Stat. Acco. vol. viii. p. 495-7. In another large Druidical cairn, of an oblong shape, about a mile west from Ardoch, was likewise found a stone coffin, enclosing a skeleton *seven feet long*. Stat. Acco. vol. ix. p. 51-2. So many skeletons of extraordinary size have been found in every district of North Briton, (*Stat. Acco. passim.*) as not only to confirm the relation of Tacitus respecting the large stature, "*magni artus*," of the Caledonians, but also to shew that the popular tradition of giants being of yore in this country, is not without some foundation. As formerly mentioned, there are no appearances that indicate a great battle, either on the Muir of Orchil, or in the neighbourhood of the camps at Ardoch.

For the next station, we must consult Ptolemy and Richard. The former is, with too much reason, reckoned a very inaccurate geographer; and Richard, though

much better qualified to guide us, as having had access to various sources of information, unknown to Ptolemy, is not yet altogether to be depended on. His *Itinera*,* however, appear to be wonderfully correct, agreeing, in most cases, with the distances now actually measured. According to the 9th *Iter*, from *Lindum* to *Victoria*, it is 9 Roman miles; thence, to the station at *Hierna*, it is 9 Roman miles more. *Hierna* is undoubtedly the station at Strageth, where the Roman road crosses the Earn, *Ierne*, and is only 6 Roman miles from Ardoch. From this it is evident, that the 9th *Iter* has made a detour to take in the station at *Victoria*, which, of course, must be situated on the *apex* of an isosceles triangle, whose base, corresponding with the direct route from Ardoch to Strageth, is only 6 miles, and each of its sides 9. The real distance is $8\frac{1}{4}$ English miles, from Ardoch to the Roman camp at Dealgin Ross, near Comrie, and $8\frac{1}{2}$ from Dealgin Ross to Strageth. We must, therefore, agree with General Roy in concluding Dealgin Ross to be the station *Victoria*: Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, is of the same opinion. It is true, Bede and Richard say *Victoria* was built by Agricola on the Tay, 20 miles from the place where it falls into the sea; but, if Richard had

* *Ricardus Corinensis*, or Richard of Cirencester, was a writer of the 14th century, whose work was discovered in Denmark, by Mr Bertram, an English gentleman, and it was published at Copenhagen, in 1758. Its authenticity has never been questioned, and it appears unquestionable. Richard had, it seems, travelled to Italy, and had there perused Cæsar, Strabo, Ptolemy, Tacitus, and other authentic writers. In constructing his *Itinera*, he also founds upon certain fragments of the work of a Roman *Dux Britanniarum*, or governor of Britain. Lib. i. cap. 7, p. 35. See also Stukely's Account of Richard of Cirencester, 1757, 4to.

known the country, and compared it with his 9th and 10th *Itinera*, he would have found, that 30 Roman miles, which *Victoria* is distant from the Wall of Antoninus by the 9th, or even 32, the distance assigned to it in the 10th, would by no means reach the Tay. It is plain, from his 9th *Iter*, that he meant Dealgin Ross upon the Earn, 20 Roman miles from the place where it falls into the Firth of Tay, being 9 miles distant from *Lindum*, and the same distance from *Hierna*. As it is 40 miles from Dealgin Ross to Abertay, it is probable, either that xx had been omitted in Bede's account of the distance from the mouth of the river, or that, being ignorant of the country, he also had mistaken the Tay for the Earn. We see no probability of this station being Perth, which by some has been supposed to be *Victoria*, a city founded by Agricola, and free of Rome. The distances marked in the *Itinera* forbid us to indulge such a supposition; and, though the situation of Perth may now be much admired, it appears to be just such a place as Agricola would not have chosen for a temporary encampment, and far less for a station. Without good water, it is not only exposed to inundations, but can be commanded by the heights in its vicinity. Vegetius says, no camp should be pitched where the enemy, from adjoining eminences, may be able to see what is going on within it.

We agree with General Roy in thinking it probable that, after Agricola had divided his forces into three bodies, two divisions of his army respectively occupied Dealgin Ross and Strageth, and we shall now examine the Roman works found at the former. Here we find a small rectangular camp, 1020 feet in length, by 950 in breadth, which would only contain a weak legion,

without auxiliaries. This was most likely the 9th, which, we are told, was the weakest, “*ut maximè invalidam.*” The situation was such as Vegetius says was preferred by the Romans, being a gentle eminence, near the conflux of the water of Ruchil and the Earn. The Prætorian gate seems to have been on the east side, and the Decumen gate toward Ruchil water; so that the front of the camp looked down Strathearn. Of the two principal gates, that on the north side is not exactly opposite to the gate on the south side, being somewhat nearer to the rear, owing perhaps to the camp being pitched in a hurry. As formerly mentioned, the gates are protected by semicircular *claviculæ*, one overlapping the other, so as to render the defences particularly strong. Just within the principal gate on the south, there is a large upright stone, and beside it two smaller ones, which have fallen down: hence the name. *Dealg*, in Gaelic, signifies a needle, or skewer, and, figuratively, an obelisk: *Dealgin Ross*, the monument on the peninsula. Besides these stones, tumuli, cairns, and circles of various kinds, are scattered about the plain.

On the north side of this camp, there are the remains of another work, which might perhaps contain the auxiliaries of the legion, or a detachment sent to join it. Great part of this work has been washed away by the Ruchil; but the ramparts that remain are considerably stronger than those of a temporary camp usually are, and the intrenchments are not parallel to those of the little camp. There are vestiges of a still stronger rampart within the outer one; and there are two ways leading from it, one south, or south-west, toward Ardoch, and the other toward the east, leading

to Strageth. The last mentioned road cuts obliquely the intrenchments of the camp before it on the south, which shews it to have been a subsequent work ; and, as we find no such roads leading out of temporary camps, this seems to have been a station which, we conclude, was *Victoria*. The Romans appear to have had time to execute these roads only to a short distance.

As the works at Dealgin Ross would not hold more than 10,000 men, they could not be occupied by the army of Agricola, consisting of about 26,000, before the great battle with Galgacus : but it seems very probable, that, on his return from that expedition, in honour of the victory recently obtained, he founded *Victoria*, on the spot where the 9th legion had been attacked the previous year, and where he had also gained a signal victory. Dealgin Ross is also called *Galdachan*, which signifies the town of the strangers.

The natives, who were probably hovering on the neighbouring hills, while Agricola occupied the great camp at Ardoch, seem, upon the advance of a division of his army to Dealgin Ross, to have retreated, in a north-west direction, toward Glen-Artney, allowing the Romans to fortify their camp without molestation. Another division advanced to Strageth, while Agricola remained with the third in the small camp at Ardoch. In the mean time, the Caledonians called in their detachments ; and, issuing from Glen-Artney in the night, fell in a body on the camp of the 9th legion at Dealgin Ross, having learned that this was the weakest division of the Roman army. They killed the guards, and, having stormed the intrenchments, the battle began in the very camp. Roused from sleep, and in confusion, from the darkness ; surprised by an attack so

unexpected, and in terror from not knowing the extent of their danger, the Romans fought under the greatest disadvantage, and nothing but the courage and discipline of veterans could have saved the legion from destruction. From the monumental stones, already mentioned, being within the intrenchments, we conclude, that a person of great distinction among the Caledonians, and two inferior chiefs, had fallen in this night attack, after storming the south principal gate of the Roman camp. From this gate being forced, it would appear that the assault had been made on that side, and that the Caledonians descended to the attack from Glen-Artney, interposing themselves between the 9th legion and the division at Ardoch under Agricola. Their rear-guard seems to have been posted at Blair-in-roan, 2 miles to the southward of Dealgin Ross; and it is probable they would send a detachment to the neighbourhood of Strowan, to intercept the communication with Strageth.

Agricola, having learned that the Caledonians had united their forces, in order to overwhelm the 9th legion, advanced, by a forced march, to its relief. We suppose that, leaving his small camp at Ardoch, he ascended the right bank of the Knaik, and, turning the hill Meal-corry-our, fell upon the rear-guard of the Caledonians at Blair-in-roan, from which place the shouts of his soldiers might be heard in the camp at Dealgin Ross. Part of the forces of the Caledonians would hasten to sustain their rear-guard, and in the vicinity of Blair-in-roan the principal action with Agricola seems to have been fought. Near this village there are six or seven upright monumental stones, called by the country people, to this day, Roman stones. The names of places hereabout refer to an engagement. Blair-in-roan,

the spotted battle-field ; Toi-na-blair, the stream of the battle-field, being one of the sources of the Machany, near the above village ; and in Glen-Artney, three miles to the westward, we find Alt-na-chask, the burn of action. The victory of the Romans does not appear to have been so complete as Tacitus insinuates. The 9th legion had been roughly handled in the camp ; and, when the Caledonians were defeated by Agricola at Blair-in-roan, they seem to have rallied in Glen-Artney, and, after making a stand at Alt-na-chask, to have retreated among the fens and forests in the neighbourhood. They had shewn considerable address in spreading reports, that induced a commander, so skilful as Agricola, to commit the error of dividing his forces,—an error which was like to have cost him dear ; though foiled in their attempt upon the 9th legion, and obliged to retire, they did not consider themselves conquered, as we may infer from both armies being said by Tacitus to have left the field mutually exasperated,—“ *irritatis utrinque animis discessum.*”

The next station is *Hierna*, or Strageth upon the Earn, or Erne, near to Inverpeffery. It consists of two parts ; and the original work, which is square and of small dimensions, seems to have been that next the river. To this the Romans had made, or intended to make, an addition, or *procestrium*, westward, and divided again into two parts. From the abrupt manner in which these last works are broken off, there is reason to conclude, that they had never been fully executed. The Roman road from Ardoch crosses the Earn at a short distance above the Station, and a branch leads into it. The situation is excellent, and there are strong reasons for supposing, that, in the vicinity, a division of

the army of Agricola pitched a temporary camp, the intrenchments of which have been ploughed down. They existed in 1757; for Maitland says, — “The Roman road intersects the camp at Strageth,” which must refer to the intrenchments of a temporary camp not now to be seen. *Hist. Scot.* vol. i. p. 196.

Following the Roman way to the eastward of Strageth, and distant $5\frac{1}{2}$ English miles, we come to a square redoubt, adjoining to the south side of the road, and very near to Gask House: 2 miles farther, and on the opposite side of the road, we come to a similar redoubt, but of considerably less dimensions than the former: between them, they might contain a cohort, or about 600 men. For several miles in this quarter, the Roman way is still used as a common road; it needs but little repair, and is commonly dry in the wettest seasons. A small circular British fort lies $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile to the north-west of Gask House.

Agricola, in his last campaign, is supposed, on leaving Ardoch and Strageth, to have crossed the Tay by Derder's Ford, at the present mouth of the Almond, and to have encamped with his whole army at Grassy Walls, half a mile to the northward, on a gentle eminence in every respect suitable for a camp. To the westward it was protected by the Tay, which here makes a fine sweep, and it has the advantage of being watered by two or three rivulets. This camp is, in mean breadth 1950 feet, corresponding exactly with that of the great camp at Ardoch; and, though the length cannot now be ascertained, there is reason to suppose it might be about 2800 feet, and consequently would hold 26,000 men. Its sides are also a little deflected, like the Ardoch camp, yielding to the ground, particularly at Donald's

Bank, above the Tay, which seems to have been the rear of the encampment, and where the intrenchments are best preserved. On the south and east sides they have been levelled. Only the north gate remains, the traverse of which has been straight; but, the Roman road passing through the middle of the camp from north to south, the epaulment has been cut through for the egress of the road, which shews the latter to have been a subsequent work. There is reason to conclude, that the same army which occupied the great camp at Ardoch, occupied also the camp at Grassy Walls.

According to the 9th *Iter* of Richard, the next Roman station to the eastward of *Hierna*, is *Orea*, at the distance of 14 Roman miles. Here the 9th and 10th *Itinera* diverge, the former going nearer the coast, and the latter through the interior of Vespasiana to *Ptorotone*, or *Castra Alata*, supposed to be Burgh-head, on the Moray Firth. *Orea* is placed by Ptolemy and Richard considerably to the eastward of the Tay. But Ptolemy's map of Scotland, though a wonderful production for a geographer of Alexandria, of the second century, yet is certainly both confused and distorted. By bending North Britain to the east, his whole longitudes and latitudes are false; while many of the stations are undoubtedly far from their true situations. Richard of Cirencester, in his map, gives the country its true position; but, in other things, generally follows Ptolemy. He was a monk of Westminster, and, in the opinion of Dr Stukely and of Pinkerton, wrote about 1338. He had access not only to Ptolemy, Antonine's Itinerary, as it is called, *Notitia Imperii*, and the Theodosian Tables, but also to the Memoirs of a Roman Dux, or Governor of Britain. He seems, however, to have

been so little of a mathematician, as not to have been able to correct his map, by applying the distances furnished in his own invaluable *Itinera*. From Strageth, $13\frac{1}{2}$ Roman miles bring us to Bertha, at the confluence of the Almond, or Amon, with the Tay, about 2 miles to the northward of Perth. This is such a situation as was usually preferred by the Romans for their *castra stativa*. Rectangular intrenchments, much stronger than those of a temporary camp, are found here. Of these, about 680 feet of the north rampart, and of the south about 450, remain; and the Roman road, where it disappears at Tibbermuir, points directly upon Bertha. “The causeway leading from the Roman camp at Ardoch, crosses the Tay at its present conflux with the Almond. At this place, there are the remains of a Roman station, regularly formed into a square, surrounded with a deep fosse, which has for some years been gradually washing away by the Almond. There have been dug up here several urns, filled with human ashes, a Roman lachrymatory, and also a pig of lead, weighing about two stone, with Roman letters on it. The foundation of a wooden bridge, which had been thrown over the Tay at this place, still remains, and consists of large oak planks fastened together, coarsely jointed, and surrounded with clasps of iron. At the north end beyond this bridge, to the north-east, there are some remains of a causeway, which extends almost as far as Blairgowrie.”—*Stat. Acco.* vol. xv. p. 527-8. Again: “The Almond has carried away a part of the works; but this was not the course of it in ancient times. It ran past Ruthven Castle, now Hunting Tower, where there is still a rivulet, called Old Amon; and it joined the Tay about half a mile southward of its

present junction.”—*Stat. Acco. ut supra*. Some of the Roman cinereal urns above mentioned, with some fragments of glass vessels, of a bluish colour, also found here, were presented to the Antiquarian Society of Scotland. It is evident, that a Roman station has existed at Bertha; and one of the objects of its construction here, seems to have been the command of the ford across the Tay. Derder’s Ford, being the first above the tide-way, the importance of the position, in a military point of view, is obvious. From the ramparts that remain, it appears to have been of considerably larger dimensions than the celebrated stative camp at Ardoch; and we agree with General Roy, in concluding this station to be the *Orea* of Ptolemy and Richard: Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, is decidedly of the same opinion. As to the meaning of the name, it is quite uncertain. It is probable, however, that it would be descriptive of its situation on the Tay, and may, perhaps, be derived from *Ar*,* slow, or gently gliding. This Celtic etymon seems to claim the Fife Ore, and to enter into the composition of the names of other streams in the British Isles, and in different parts of Western Europe. The classical reader will recollect the “*Lentus Arar Rhodanusque celer.*”† *Orea* appears to have continued a place of importance long after the departure of the Romans, and to have been a residence of the Scottish kings. Kenneth M’Alpin died at Forteviot; but his brother and immediate successor, Donal III.

* Gaelic Dictionary.

† Other derivations may be suggested. *Or*, British, a limit, or margin. *Orea*, was on the margin of the Tay, and might be on the limit of a territory. *Or*, in Bas-Breton, signifies an embouchure. *Orea* was situated at the embouchure of the Amon.

according to the chronicle in the Reg. of St Andrews, died in Rathinveramon, anno 863. *Rath-inver-Amon*, the fortress at the influx of the Amon, into the Tay. The Chron. No. 5, of Innes, states, that Constantine IV. was slain in Rath-inver-Amon, anno 995. The station having been converted into a fortress by the natives, the rude foundations of the bridge, mentioned in the *Statis. Acco.* and still to be seen when the water is low, may have belonged to a work much later than the times of the Romans. It is clear, however, that in 995, Bertha was not the name of the place; and there is reason to believe that the cottages here received the appellation, in contradistinction to Perth, only since the days of Boece.

Fordun, who wrote about 1385, says, "I have found in some old writs, that the town of St John, now called Perth, was anciently called Bertha," vol. ii. p. 99. According to the same author, Perth suffered from a great inundation in 1210; and this is also mentioned by Major, in 1521. In 1526, Boece relates, that "Perth was formerly situated higher up the Tay, and was swept away by a flood in 1210, and that it was afterwards rebuilt where it now stands, and received its charter of erection into a royal burgh from William the Lion, in that year." The charter to which he alludes, granted by William in 1210, confirms the privileges the burgh enjoyed in the time of his grandfather David, who died in 1153, and adds some new privileges; but makes no mention of any change of the name, or of the situation of the town, which it certainly would have done, if any such change had happened; besides, there are charters extant concerning Perth from 1106, some of them expressly describing the localities of its pre-

sent situation. We may, therefore, regard as fabulous, the story told by Boece, repeated by Buchanan, and admitted by Lord Hailes, of a more ancient Perth lying higher up the Tay; nevertheless, the great inundation of 1210, so disastrous to Perth, chiefly "from a mound or rampart giving way," might be instrumental in conveying a large portion of the Rath-inver-Amon to the Carse of Gowrie. The mound mentioned by Fordun, was probably the rampart of the Roman station, which, after being undermined by the Almond, would be precipitated into the stream; and, when the river found a new channel, it would descend with such a burst into the Tay, already in flood, that their joint waters would carry all before them.

Upon the east side of the Tay, and opposite to the station which we suppose to have been *Orea*, there was formerly a village, called Rome. This gives countenance to the tradition, that Agricola and his army, when they first saw the noble river, with the adjacent plain on which Perth now stands, cried out, with one consent, "*Ecce Tiber! Ecce Campus Martius!*" Behold the Tiber! Behold the Field of Mars! The circumstance is not recorded by Tacitus; but this exclamation may have been made by the Roman general and his soldiers, on their march to the camp at Grassy Walls, above mentioned, and the tradition may have been handed down to us from the first century. We are told that the Italians, many ages after, were wont to give to the Tay the name of New Tiber; and it is not improbable, that a thousand years posterior to the invasion of Agricola, the exclamation "*Ecce Tiber! Ecce Campus Martius!*" as well as the absurd legend connected with it, might be invented by some Italian priest, who, in

return for a benevolence, gave honied words to the inhabitants of the *gude* Town. We are farther told, that Fordun gave the name of Tiber-more, to an extensive *muir* that lies west from the town of Perth; but, if Fordun had known any thing of Gaelic, it is likely he would not have given it that appellation. Tipper,* or Tibber-muir, the name by which it has always been distinguished, simply means, The well in the muir.

The 9th and 10th *Itinera* of Richard, diverge at Orea, and we shall now endeavour to point out the stations upon the former, so far as it is included in the Map of the Basin of the Tay. In doing so, we are sorry to find that we differ entirely from General Roy, who carries this *Iter* along the coast all the way to Burgh-head. It seems not to have occurred to him, that the Romans, being neither a commercial nor a maritime people, and never engaging in sea affairs, but when it became necessary in the prosecution of their warlike designs, it was not their policy to place stations, or form roads, along the shore of the ocean. In Britain very few of their *castra stativa* are upon the coast; their *Itinera* are, for the most part, inland; and, in North Britain, invariably so. In the passage of rivers, the first ford above the tide-way seems to have been preferred; and, at a distance from the sea, their encampments and stations were generally placed, so as to command a ford, which was an object of peculiar importance in a country without bridges; and the more so, that the Romans did not, like the moderns, carry pontons along with them in their marches. While we think it necessary to make these observations, we are sensible that no writer has

* Gaelic Dictionary.

done more to illustrate the antiquities of North Britain than General Roy; than whom there could not be a more candid inquirer, or one whose judgment was less liable to be warped by antiquarian zeal: therefore we cannot but reprobate the observation of Chalmers, that it was "his desire of novelty which forced him into a wrong tract." *Caled.* vol. i. p. 124. General Roy could not avail himself of the more recent discoveries made by Colonel Shand, Captain Henderson, and Colonel Imrie, of Roman roads and camps in the interior of the shires of Aberdeen and Banff, establishing the accuracy of Richard's delineation of the 9th *Iter* in that quarter; but, whatever it might be that induced the General to carry it along the coast, he never shews discourtesy to those who may happen to differ from him in opinion. Nothing, in the course of our inquiries, has struck us more forcibly than the want of *bonhommie* among those men of talents and learning who have treated of Scottish antiquities, and who are now, almost all, under the turf.

From Orea, to the next station in the 9th *Iter*, *ad Tavum*, the distance is 19 Roman miles, nearly equal to 18 English. Leaving Derder's Ford, and passing the village of Rome, on the north side of the Tay, we take the old road from Perth to Dundee, by Kinfauns, Glen-carse, Kilspindie, Flaw Craig, Rossie, &c. and, at the distance of 18 English miles, we come to the Roman camp of *Cater Milley*, situated half a mile north of Invergowrie, and about two miles west from Dundee. This camp is now effaced; but it existed in the middle of the last century, and is described by Maitland as being 600 feet square, fortified with a high rampart and spacious ditch. *Hist. of Scot.* vol. i. p. 215.—*Stat.*

Acco. vol. xiii. p. 115. Cater Milley, Principal Playfair conjectures to be *Quatuor Millia*; referring either to the distance from some other station, or to the number of troops it contained. But there is not any vestige, or tradition of another camp being within four miles of this neighbourhood; and, though the area of this station be somewhat greater than that of *Orea*, and double of that of the permanent camp at Ardoch, it could not, upon the Polybian system, hold 4000 men. Whatever may be the derivation of Cater Milley, there can be no doubt that this was the station, *ad Tavum*, near to, or upon the Tay. From a calculation made by General Roy, after comparing the dimensions of the different camps supposed to have been occupied by Agricola, during his last campaign in North Britain, he is of opinion, that the number of troops which the Roman commander sent on board the fleet, on returning from the territories of the Horestii, was about 4000. The calculations appear to be accurate; and, being founded upon data with which the General was familiar, there is reason to believe the soldiers sent on board the fleet might amount to that number; and as it is probable they embarked here, this station may derive the name, from the temporary camp of these troops being pitched on the spot where the permanent camp was afterward placed. The advantages of the situation, though still considerable, were probably much more so in the first and second centuries. The physical changes hereabout have been great: the tradition, universally prevalent through this part of the country, seems to be borne out by evidence sufficient to warrant the conclusion, that the course of the Tay was formerly on the north side of the Carse, that fine river washing the skirts of the Sidla



Alex. Carr's Del. & Sculp.

LINNE MAGRAY.

*Up the heights of Baron Hill,
I've led my Jean with right good will,*

*And sat, and seen the foamy spray
Tash the dark rocks of Linne Magray.*

Spence

Hills from Balthayock to Invergowrie, to the southward of which was the influx of the Earn.* Immediately to the northward of the Roman station, there has been a lake, the site of which is still distinguished by the name of Loch-ee; and the stream flowing from Loch-ee, after being joined by the burns of Fowlis and Balruddery, falls into the Firth of Tay, about half a mile to the westward of Invergowrie House. The mouth of this stream would form a harbour; and the stream may have anciently been called Gowrie. General Roy had not heard of Cater Milley, and finding the situation of Dundee to be such as the Romans would not have chosen for a camp, the Saxon or Danish name of *Burgh-Tay*, the Fort of Tay, seems to have engaged his attention, and induced him to suppose the station *ad Tavum* to be Burgh-Tay Castle; which, by some oversight, he states to be 18 English miles from Orea; whereas the true distance is fully 24, equal to 26 Roman miles, being 7 more than the Itinerary distance: *Errare humanum est*. It is rather a singular coincidence, that Cater Milley is just the same distance north-west from Dundee, that Orea is from Perth.

The next station is *Æsica*, distant from *Tavum* XXIII Roman miles, equal to 21 English; and *Tina* follows *Æsica* at the distance of VIII Roman miles, equal to $7\frac{1}{2}$ and 1 furlong English. There can be no doubt of *Æsica* having been a station on the South Esk, and

* The Gaelic *inver* is of the same import with the British *aber*, and denotes the confluence of rivers, or streams; the influx of a small stream into a greater, or the fall of a stream into the sea, or a lake; the mouth of a river; and, in a few instances, *inver* has been transferred to the river itself; metaphorically, a port or harbour; and Invergowrie may mean, the port of Gowrie.

Tina another on the North Esk : the Gaelic Esk, and the British Tine, being of the same import, and signifying a river, or water ; which last is a name given, in Scotland, to streams inferior to rivers in magnitude. Montrose, situated at the mouth of the South Esk, has been supposed to be the former station, by General Roy ; and he places the latter at the Bridge of Morphy, near the *embouchure* of the North Esk. From Cater Milley, going across the country to Montrose, it is 28 English miles, and even from Burgh-Tay Castle, 24 ; from Montrose to the Bridge of Morphy, it is $3\frac{1}{2}$; and these distances cannot be reconciled to those given us by Richard. Dr Stukely and Chalmers agree in placing *Æsica* at Brechin, and *Tina* at King's Ford, on the North Esk, below the confluence of West Water. From Cater Milley to Brechin, by Caerbuddo and Kirkden, that being the most obvious route, the distance is 24 English miles ; and from Brechin to King's Ford, $4\frac{1}{2}$. If we regard the distances in the *Iter*, we cannot admit Brechin to be *Æsica* ; and we are not aware of any remains having been discovered at this town that could indicate a Roman station. By following a route from Cater Milley, not much different from the last, but going by Claverhouse, Pourie, Gagie, the Hare Cairn, passing between Lower and the camp at Haerfaulds, then by Rescobie and Aberlemno, 21 English miles bring us to the South Esk, where a peninsula, formed by the influx of the Noran, is such a situation as the Romans often chose for their *castra stativa* ; and we would suggest that *Æsica* perhaps stood here. It commands a ford on the South Esk ; and on the isthmus at the west end of the peninsula, there is a house called Ward-end, which seems to imply that this place had been occupied for

military purposes. From South Esk, at the influx of the Noran, to the confluence of West Water and North Esk, at King's Ford, the distance is $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles and 1 furlong English, corresponding exactly with the *Iter*. We agree with Chalmers in thinking *Tina* was situated at this ford.

The next station northward is *Devana*, distant from *Tina* XXIII Roman miles, equal to 21 English. It is clear that *Devana* was situated on the Dee; it is not so easy, however, to determine the particular spot where the Romans had their station. General Roy is of opinion that it was at Old Aberdeen; but, from the Bridge of Morphy to that town, it is not less than 33 English miles, and from King's Ford, 36; distances that seem to put Aberdeen out of the question. Chalmers fixes upon the neighbourhood of Peter Culter, where there is a large Roman camp, that commands the fords of the Dee. From King's Ford to this camp, going by the How of the Mearns, and turning northward near Stonehaven, by the camp at Urie, called Rae Dykes, the distance to Peter Culter is 28 English miles; going from King's Ford by Fordun, where there is both a temporary and a permanent camp, and crossing the hills to Peter Culter, the distance is 26 English miles. The former route is preferable; but even this is 5 miles more than the *Iter* allows. From King's Ford, on the North Esk, going by Fettercairn, Clattering Brig, where there is a Roman post, Cairnie Mount, and Cuttie's Market, 21 English miles bring us to Kincardine O'Neil upon the Dee. The first portion of this name implies a fortress; and that the Romans crossed the Cairnie Mount is probable, from their having established a post at Clattering Brig.

We are now on the confines of the Map of the Basin of the Tay, and shall slightly notice, for the sake of connexion, the remaining stations of the 9th *Iter*; and those of the 10th, till it enters the country included in the map.

From *Devana*, the next station is *Ituna*, distant xxiv Roman miles, equal to $22\frac{1}{4}$ English. From Old Aberdeen to the *embouchure* of the Ithan, the distance is 11 English miles, so that the route proposed by General Roy nowhere corresponds with the distances in the *Iter*, which he carries along the coast to Peterhead, &c. Mormond, near Kinnaird's Head, and 810 feet above the sea, he considers the Mons Grampius of Richard, misled, seemingly, by that author speaking emphatically of the promontory which runs out into the ocean, toward Germany, though Richard wrote in contradiction to his own map. Colonel Shand and Chalmers place *Ituna* near the springs of the Ithan, where there are Roman intrenchments beside Glenmailen, called Rae Dykes. The name given to this camp, and also to that at Urie, is from the Gaelic, Ra', or Rath, a fortress. From Peter Culter to Glenmailen, the distance is 27 English miles; the distance from Kincardine O'Neil is much the same; and as it is four or five miles more than the Itinerary distance, if Rae Dykes, beside Glenmailen, be *Ituna*, some inaccuracy has crept in. From Peter Culter, $22\frac{1}{4}$ English miles reach the Ithan, where the road from Tarves to New Deer, crosses that stream, east of Haddo.

Mons Grampius follows *Ituna*, the distance not given. The mountain which Richard distinguishes by this name seems to be Knoc Hill, in Banffshire, situated 10 miles south of Portsoy: it is elevated about 2500

feet above the level of the sea, and is an excellent landmark to those who navigate the Moray Firth. The Roman station is supposed to have been on the high ground north of Aberchirder, distant from the camp at Glenmailen 13 miles. No intrenchments are visible here; but, at the ford in the Deveron, near Auchengoul, according to Colonel Shand, there are obvious remains of military works. *Selina* follows *Mons Grampius*, the distance not mentioned; but it seems to have been a station on the Water of Cullen, near to Deskford, and distant from Aberchirder about 10 miles. The intrenchments here can be distinguished only by the eyes of an antiquary. *Tuessis* is the next station, and the distance annexed is XVIII Roman miles, being a trifle less than 18 English. There is no doubt of this being the station on the Spey, near the kirk of Bellie, by Fochabers, where there is a permanent camp, which commands the ford above the tide way. *Tuessis* is derived from the Gaelic, and signifies the North Water: the modern name is from the British *Espeye*, the Foamy Stream. From Deskford, going down to Inver-Cullen, and then along the coast, to the camp at Bellie, the distance is about 15 miles: but this is not the obvious route; and across the country from Deskford to the Roman station, it is only 9 miles, which by no means agrees with the Itinerary distance.

In tracing the 9th *Iter*, we are struck with the circumstance, that the direct route from King's Ford, at the confluence of West Water and North Esk, to Fochabers, being by Fettercairn, Kincardine O'Neil, and Strathbogie, the distances by this road correspond with those given by Richard. To *Devana*, 21 English miles; this distance brings us to Kincardine

O'Neil, on the Dee: To *Ituna*, $22\frac{1}{4}$, and 1 furlong; this distance reaches a remarkable bend in the Water of Bogie, half way between Gartly and Huntly: From this place to *Tuessis*, the station at Fochabers, it is 18 English miles; and these are all the distances mentioned. To *Mons Grampius* and *Selina*, there may have been branch roads, the number of miles to these places not being known to Richard, or else omitted in his authorities, as not belonging to the *Iter*. There is a difficulty in the name of the station *Ituna*, supposed to be the Ithan: but *Ituna* was the name of several streams in South, as well as in North Britain; such as the Eden in Cumberland, which gave the name of *Ituna Æst.* to the Solway Firth. It is derived from the British, *Ethain*, or *Eddain*, a gliding stream; and Bolgie, now the Bogie, may have been substituted for Eden, when a tribe of Bolga, or Belgæ, settled in Strathbolgie, posterior to the second century. Respecting the route proposed by Colonel Shand and Mr Chalmers, we may observe, that the large camps at Peter Culter and Glenmailen were of the temporary kind; and had there been *castra stativa* at these places, it is likely that they would not have been effaced, their ramparts being so much stronger than those of the former kind. On the route by Cairnie Mount, and Strathbogie, we noticed a stative post at the Clattering Brig, in the Mearns; and, at no great distance from the present road, some miles of a Roman causeway have been discovered. We submit these remarks for the consideration of antiquaries.

The last station of the 9th *Iter*, is *Ptoroton*, the distance not specified. It is clear that this was the *Castra Alata* of Ptolemy. *Castra alata* signifies the

flying camp, or the camp of the light troops; and the name given it by Richard has the same meaning, but derived from the Greek, *Pteroton Stratopedon*. This station was, undoubtedly, Burghhead, on the Moray Firth, distant 15 English miles from the stative camp at Bellie, by Fochabers. The modern name of this promontory was given to it by the Danes, who held possession of it for a considerable time, during the middle ages; but, till recent times, the fishing town on the isthmus, which connects this lofty peninsula with the shire of Moray, was called Tery-town; and the Roman intrenchments here can still be distinguished from those of the Danes,* and other Scandinavian rovers.

The 10th *Iter* commences at Burghhead, the "*Ultima Ptoroton*," and returns southward, through the interior of the country, "*per mediam insulæ*." The 1st station is *Varis*, distant VIII Roman miles, being $7\frac{1}{2}$ English, which brings us exactly to Forres; and there can be no doubt of this being the Roman station, as the remains of that people have been found here; and *Faris* is the Gaelic name to this day. The 2d station is *Tuessis*, distant XVIII Roman miles, or $16\frac{3}{4}$ English, which extend to the lower ford on the Spey, at Cromdale. The 3d station is *Tamea*, and the distance is XXIX Roman, or nearly 27 English miles, which bring us to Braemar. The present road being circuitous, is

* The Danes are supposed to have withdrawn from Burghhead, on a convention between Sueno and Malcom II. A. D. 1014; and the famous obelisk at Forres, still called King Sueno's stone, is supposed to commemorate that treaty. It is probable, the Scandinavians gave the name of Moray to the country in the vicinity of Burghhead, from *Mora*, a district in Sweden, and that we owe this Scottish surname to these sea kings.

much longer ; but the Romans traversed Strathavon ; and from Forres, by Cromdale and Strathavon, many miles of this *Iter* can still be traced. Mar is that district of Aberdeenshire which lies between the Dee and the Don, and Brae-mar is comparatively a modern appellation. The ancient name *Tamea*, seems to be derived from the British *Tam*, or *Tame*, expanding, or spreading ; in old Gaulish, a river ; and apparently the etymon of the Greek *Potamos*.

We are again on the confines of the Map of the Basin of the Tay. The 4th station is without a name ; but the distance given, is XXI Roman miles, equal to $19\frac{1}{2}$ English. In proceeding southward from Braemar, the Romans could hardly follow a tract much different from the present military road by Cairnwell, and the Spittal* of Glenshee ; and the above distance brings us down the glen to the vicinity of Cray, opposite to Mount Blair. The 5th station is *In medio*, distant VIII Roman, equal to $8\frac{1}{2}$ English miles. Antiquaries are not agreed respecting this station. Some think it Inchtuthil ; others, Meiklour ; and a third party fix upon Cupar Angus : but it is impossible to reconcile the Itinerary distance to the actual measurement ; for, from Meiklour, the nearest of the places mentioned, $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles reach upward only to the neighbourhood of Over Percy, which is 5 or 6 miles from Cray, above mentioned. To the nameless station, $19\frac{1}{2}$; which, added to $8\frac{1}{2}$, the distance to *In medio*, make 28. The real distance from Braemar to Meiklour, by the present road, is 36 English, equal to 39 Roman miles ; and it is probable, either that x has been omitted in the distance to the nameless

* Corrupted from Hospital — *Hospitium*, an inn.

station, or that, their road being more direct, *v* has been substituted for *x*, in the distance to *In medio*. Some have supposed that the Romans having no way formed through this pass in the Grampians, the distance from *Tamea* to the nameless station had only been computed; but, had this been the case, it must have been from the time occupied in their march, and, as crossing the Grampians would be tedious and harassing, the length of the road, by computation, was more likely to be greater than to fall short of the actual measurement. As antiquaries differ about the site of *In medio*, so also they entertain different opinions concerning the origin of the name. Some suppose it means, in the middle of the river, Inchtuthil having formerly been an island in the Tay: others think it means, in the middle of the forest; and there seems no reason to doubt that this was the *medio nemetum* of Ravennas: a third party are of opinion it means, in the middle of the Great Valley, or Strathmore. It is not in the mid-way of the distance; notwithstanding, it may perhaps mean, the middle station between *ad vallum*, or the Wall of Antoninus, and *Ptoroton*—5 stations being on this side, and 5 on that; though the names of those on this side be not all mentioned in the 10th *Iter*, as they are in the 9th; thus,—*Alauna, Lindum, Victoria, Hierna, Orea—In medio*—nameless station, *Tamea, Tuessis, Varis, Ptoroton*. Whatever may have been the origin of the name, we incline to think Meiklour was the situation, chiefly because the distance to Orea by the *Iter*, is VIII Roman, or $8\frac{1}{2}$ English miles, which corresponds exactly with the distance from Meiklour to Bertha. From Inchtuthil it is somewhat less; and from Cupar Angus considerably more, being $10\frac{1}{2}$ English miles.

In the 10th *Iter*, the distance between *Orea* and *Victoria* is XVIII Roman miles, whereas, in the 9th, it is XXIII. This last suits with the real distances of the existing vestiges of Roman works, and other circumstances; it is therefore to be preferred, and the first rejected as erroneous: but the difference is unlucky, as it shews that the distances in the *Itinera* cannot be depended upon absolutely, though their agreement with the actual measurements are wonderfully near. We shall now take leave of Richard, having gone over his valuable *Itinera*, and noticed all the stations that he mentions, north of the wall of Antoninus, the subject being not only curious in itself, and interesting to the antiquary, but also important in a historical point of view, evincing that the Roman dominion in Scotland, for some time, extended to the Moray Firth. What an astonishing people were the Romans! After the lapse of seventeen hundred years, we are still able to trace their roads, and to follow their footsteps; some of their stations are, apparently, as palpable as on the day they left them, in the second century; and we can examine even the temporary camps, which they occupied only for a short time, a few days, or perhaps a single night: so entire are the intrenchments, and so perfect was their system of castrametation, we can, for the most part, calculate the number of troops that these camps would contain!

Returning to *Orea*, we find a Roman causeway proceeding from Bertha towards Cupar Angus; and it is probable that it joined the 9th *Iter* at *Æsica*, on the South Esk, as it has been traced at various places in that direction. From Derder's Ford, it goes through the camp at Grassy Walls, and in a north-east direction passes Byres, and crosses the high ground in the parish

of Cargill, giving off branches to Inchtuthil and Meiklour, and was doubtless joined by the 10th *Iter*, at one of these stations, or at Cupar Angus. We shall now endeavour to give some account of the Roman remains found in this quarter ; premising, that, as there are not fewer than four camps within a distance of six miles, it is by no means likely that they were all occupied by the same army at different times.—The most westerly, is Inchtuthil, formerly an island of nearly 200 imperial acres in extent, and is, in general figure, a triangle, on the north point of which stands Delvin House. Steep on all sides, and elevated about 50 feet above the neighbouring plain, the situation is naturally strong.* The old works remaining consist of four parts : 1st, a camp 1500 feet square ; 2dly, a square redoubt, near the east point of the island, on the top of the bank, and overlooking the Tay ; 3dly, a long intrenchment to the westward of the camp, extending across the island from the top of one bank to the top of the other, and inflected near the middle ; and 4thly, a strong intrenched post at the extreme point of the island, towards the west. The contour of the camp can be distinctly traced ; excepting a part of the north side, which has been washed away by the river, and the angle at the village of Inchtuthil, which has been ploughed down : portions of the other works mentioned, have likewise been washed away. A place so well calculated for defence, was probably fortified in their own way, and inhabited by the natives ; yet, from the style, and particularly from the figure of the large camp, there is reason to believe, that all, or the greater part, of the

* A Roman bath was found at Delvin. MAITLAND, *Hist. Scot.* page 149.

intrenchments were raised by the Romans. The camp, upon the Polybian system, would hold 11,000; and, by the system of Heginus, 29,000 men. General Roy thinks the form different from the camps of Agricola, and the intrenchments stronger than those supposed to have been thrown up by that commander. The post at the west point of the island is semicircular, with an imperfect breast-work, following the curvature of the bank, and is secured on the land side by five ramparts, running parallel to each other across the point. In the area are five *tumuli*, and part of a square *prætorium*: besides these *tumuli*, there are two others, situated between the camp and the square redoubt, and the largest of these is called "The Women's Knowe." The works at Inchtuthil are generally supposed to be either Pictish or Danish. The *tumuli*, and particularly those in the semicircular post, favour this conjecture, it being unusual to see the area of Roman works filled with mounds: but, though the Romans might be the original constructors of the whole, or at least of the greater part of the works in this island, there is no inconsistency in supposing, that, after their departure, the Picts or Danes, might take possession, and new-model them, in some respects, according to their own taste. Boece says, that the Picts had a town here, called *Tulina*, which they deserted and burnt on the approach of the Romans. The natives may have had a town here in the first century, and may have acted in the manner described by Boece; but the story appears to be a mere fable, founded on *fumantia tecta*, "smoking roofs," which, according to Tacitus, were seen by the Romans after the defeat of Galgacus. As for the name *Tulina*, it is likely the barbarous natives could not even have

pronounced a word so soft. Inchtuthil is derived from the Gaelic, and simply signifies “The North Island;” in contradistinction to two or three which lie to the southward. It is, however, not improbable, that the famous Vikingr,* Regner Lodbrog,† occupied this Roman

* During the middle ages, the Gothic tribes, who then held Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, became formidable, as pirates, to all maritime Europe. They scoured every sea, and ravaged every shore. They conquered England, the greater part of Ireland, the Shetland and Orkney Isles, the Hebudes, or Western Isles, and the Isle of Man. They also took possession of several peninsulæ, or tongues of land, in the West Highlands, with Caithness and Sutherland, and part of Buchan. Upon the main land, however, they were independent only for a short time, and held their possessions subject to the Scottish kings. They repeatedly ravaged Pictavia, and every coast of North Britain; yet, such was the hardihood of the ancient inhabitants, they were unable to make any permanent conquest in Scotland. They took possession of Picardie and Normandy, in France; and, from Normandy, they again conquered England. They ravaged the shores of the Mediterranean sea, and conquered Sicily: in short, their exploits are almost unparalleled in the annals of the world. They first appeared on the east coast of England in 787, and some years afterward, on the shores of North Britain. Their piracies were gradually left off, as Christianity was introduced into the northern kingdoms, toward the end of the tenth, and during the eleventh century. These rovers were distinguished, generally, by the name of Northmen; but they called themselves *Vikingur*, or *Vikingr*, that is, *Sea kings*. The etymology of *Vikingr* is uncertain: it has been supposed to be derived from *Vik*, a haven, or *Vig*, a ship, or perhaps *Vijg*, a warrior, *Gothic Dialects*, *Andreas*, *Ihre*, &c. A great proportion of our British nobles are descendants of these Vikingr, or Northmen.

† Regner Lodbrog, king of Denmark, was one of the most famous of the Vikingr, and for many years, during the earlier part of the ninth century, he made every shore of Europe tremble. It was his misfortune, however, to fall at last into the hands of Ella, king of Northumberland, a country which Regner had

camp. According to the *Chronicle*, No. iii. in Innes's *App.* before the middle of the 9th century, that terrible Northman made descents upon Scotland; and in the reign of Kenneth M'Alpin, he is supposed to have

repeatedly ravaged. By Ella, he was put to a cruel death, being destroyed by vipers. This Vikingr was also an eminent Scald, or poet, and before his demise, he consoled himself by composing an Epicedium, or funeral song, rehearsing all the exploits of his life. This poem is preserved by Olaus Wormius, in his book *De Literatura Runica*, in a Latin version, translated word for word from the original; and a copy of it may be seen in Dr Blair's *Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian*. It consists of twenty-nine stanzas, of ten lines each, and every stanza begins with these words, *Pugnavimus ensibus*, "We have fought with our swords." — A few verses of this poem are subjoined, as exhibiting a striking picture of the Vikingr.

"We have fought with our swords. I was young, when, toward the east, in the bay of Oreon, we made torrents of blood flow, to gorge the ravenous beast of prey, and the yellow-footed bird. There resounded the hard steel upon the lofty helmets of men: The whole ocean was one wound: The crow waded in the blood of the slain. When we had numbered twenty years, we lifted our spears on high, and everywhere spread our renown. Eight barons we overcame in the east, before the port of Diminum; and plentifully we feasted the eagle in that slaughter. The warm stream of wounds ran into the ocean: The army fell before us. When we steered our ships into the mouth of the Vistula, we sent the Helsingians to the hall of Odion. Then did the sword bite: The waters were all one wound: The earth was dyed red with the warm stream: The sword rung upon the coats of mail, and clove the bucklers in twain. None fled on that day, till among his ships Heraudus fell. Than him, no braver baron cleaves the sea with ships; a cheerful heart did he ever bring to the combat," &c. He says, "I hope that the sword of some of my sons will yet be stained with the blood of Ella."—"Fifty and one times have I reared the standard in battle. In my youth, I learned to dye the sword in blood: my hope was then, that no king among men would be more renowned," &c.

advanced by Cluny to Dunkeld. In Langbeck's *Scriptores Dan.* vol. ii. p. 2, 3, mention is also made of this invasion. Between Inchtuthill and Meiklour, there is an island in the Tay, called "The Bloody Inches," a name which tradition refers to a battle with the Danes. The appellation is partly Saxon, but we often meet with names half translated from the Gaelic and British. What Regner proposed to carry from Dunkeld in the shape of plunder, it is not easy to conceive; but he delighted in fighting, and appears to have met with his match, for he was defeated by Kenneth, and compelled to make a precipitate retreat. In his *Epicedium*, or Death Song, translated into Latin by Olaus Wormius, he seems to allude to this expedition, when he says, "In that day, when fainting, I concealed my blood, and pushed forth my ships into the waves, after we had spread a repast for the beasts of prey throughout the Scottish bays."

Below Inchtuthil, and about two miles eastward, is the Roman camp of Meiklour, situated at the confluence of the Isla and the Tay. As both of these rivers are here broad and deep, in order to fortify the position, it was only necessary to throw up an intrenchment in front, or on the north side of the camp: accordingly, a rampart, at present 20 feet broad and 5 feet high, extends from the Isla to the old course of the Tay. This rampart, which is two English miles in length, is now called Cleaven Dyke, and has been made out of two parallel trenches, that are 60 feet distant from each side of the Dyke. About a mile and a half of the intrenchment still remains; and at the south-east end, next the Isla, there is a square redoubt, generally supposed to have been the *Prætorium*; but we rather

think it a work constructed to strengthen that flank of the intrenchment: a small fort within, on the top of an eminence, considered an exploratory post, was more likely to be the *Prætorium*. Cleaven Dyke has openings at the west end, and middle, where the gates were probably situated. The extent of ground contained within the rampart is considerable, the two rivers forming with the Dyke nearly an equilateral triangle. What portion of the area was occupied by the Roman army cannot now be ascertained; but there is ample space for the encampment of 26,000 men upon the Polybian system. It is not likely that there ever was any other intrenchment here than Cleaven Dyke, the other sides being completely protected by deep rivers; and the rampart itself is covered for more than a mile by a wide ravine, through which a considerable stream conveys the waters of several lochs to the Isla. The position had been farther strengthened by a fort, on an eminence, called Castlehill, on the south margin of the Tay, immediately below the influx of the last named river; and there seems to have been a redoubt at Camp Hill, on the south side of the Isla, a short distance above the intrenchment.

At Meiklour we suppose Agricola encamped, on leaving Grassy Walls; and, if the battle with Galgacus was fought in the neighbourhood of Blairgowrie, it would be from this camp he marched to attack the Caledonians. The intrenchments here are stronger, it must be acknowledged, than those supposed to have been thrown up by Agricola, in his temporary encampments; but, if the enemy was at hand, it is reasonable to suppose that a rampart, stronger than usual, would be constructed, and this would be easily accomplished,

as there was only one line of intrenchment to execute : besides, it is probable that this became afterwards one of the *castra stativa* ; the situation being uncommonly good, and in every respect suitable for a station, we suppose it to have been *In medio*, as formerly mentioned.

That battles have been fought near to several of the Roman camps found in North Britain, there can be no doubt ; but the *vestigia* of a great battle in the Stormont, are more numerous than all the rest put together. It is matter of regret that these *vestigia* were unknown to General Roy, who was so able to illustrate whatever related to camps and battle-fields. Had the General seen the camp at Meiklour, and the traces of a great battle to the northward, he might perhaps have come to the conclusion we have done ; for we agree with those antiquaries who think it probable, that the decisive engagement between Agricola and Galgacus was fought *in the vicinity of Blairgowrie*. Accordingly, in the Map of the Basin of the Tay, cross swords have been inserted on the ridge we suppose to have been occupied by the Caledonians ; and also where it is supposed the Roman army was posted, particularly where the auxiliaries were drawn up, and where they joined battle. Tacitus says, “ *Legiones pro vallo stetere*,” and the legions are generally supposed to have been drawn up immediately before the camp. Some, however, understand *pro vallo* to mean, “ instead of a rampart ;” that is to say, the auxiliaries might rally behind the legions in case of defeat ; and, in this sense, Tacitus appears to us to have made use of the expression. In that battle wherein Caractacus was overthrown by Ostorius Scapula, the former is said to have posted his

“*principes, pro vallo ;*” and, from the nature of the ground described, there seems reason to conclude, that the British prince posted his “choice men, instead of a rampart.” The Romans never fought close to their intrenchments, when they could avoid it ; and the legions would not have been drawn up immediately before the camp, unless it had been the intention of Agricola to wait for the attack of the enemy ; whereas it is evident, that, after he had made a suitable disposition of his forces, he advanced to charge the Caledonians : “Having dismounted, and dismissed his horse, he advanced on foot before the banners,” “*Dimisso equo, pedes ante vexilla constitit.*” We conclude, therefore, that the legions were drawn up so as to sustain the auxiliaries, their front being about a mile, and their rear half that distance, to the northward of the camp at Meiklour. It could not have been the camp at Inchtuthil, formerly an island, else Tacitus would have mentioned the passage of the river ; and, for the reasons formerly given, it appears that Agricola did not occupy Inchtuthil.

The camp of the Caledonians, before the battle, is supposed to have been at a place called Buzzard Dykes, or Garry Drums, in the parish of Kinloch, being earthen dykes 8 or 10 feet high, enclosing nearly a square mile. This place is 5 miles north from the Roman camp at Meiklour, and is situated upon an acclivity of one of the lower Grampians, having the south side, or front, covered by a ravine, through which the Lornty carries the waters of Loch Ben-Achally to the Ericht ; and within the camp are several springs. In the neighbourhood are a number of cairns, that have been raised over the bodies of the slain.

Galgacus is supposed to have drawn up his army immediately to the westward of A. D. 84. Blairgowrie, upon grounds which exhibit the appearance of long hilly ridges, rising gradually one above another, and well fitted for displaying his army to advantage. These ridges are the descending skirts of Ben-Achally, one of the Grampian mountains. Tacitus justly praises the judgment of Agricola in choosing his camps; but we cannot sufficiently admire the skill of Galgacus in his choice of a battle-field: a stronger position could hardly have been found: it is indeed just such a one as Marshal Saxe recommends in his *Reveries*, and of which he gives a plan,—having a rivulet in front, and several artificial dams.* The left of the Caledonians was covered by the precipitous banks of the rapid Erich; the right by a deep, and, probably, at that time, a woody ravine, to the westward of Forneth and Loaning; in front was the Lunan Burn, and the deep lochs of Clunie and Dramellie, each nearly a mile in length, with the small lochs of Ard-Blair and Muirton. Half a mile to the southward of the last, are the small lochs of Fingask, White Loch, and Black Loch; and, between the last and Loch Blair, but another half mile farther south, is the Loch of the Stormont. These lochs, lying all between Meiklour and the high ground to the westward of Blairgowrie, could not fail considerably to embarrass the Romans, and impede their movements. In advancing to assail Galgacus, it is evident that Agricola must either have narrowed his front to pass between the lochs, or extended

* Chap. xiv. On situations proper for engagements and the encampment of armies.

his lines in order to turn them. If he presented a narrow front, the Caledonians, charging down hill, and, at the same time, taking the enemy in flank, the result might have been different: if the Romans turned the lochs of Clunie and Dramellie, their army being in divisions, Galgacus might have fallen upon them separately, with an overwhelming force; and though it is not likely that a commander so skilful as Agricola would have allowed any part of his troops to advance unsustained, yet the Caledonians might have opportunely assaulted the Romans in the intervals between the lochs, while in disarray from crossing the stream, or on reaching the northern bank, when their flanks were uncovered. Agricola could not have intercepted the supplies of the army of Galgacus; and he would have experienced much difficulty in attempting to turn their position. If the Caledonians had not committed the error of leaving the hilly ridges on which they were drawn up, and descending to the low grounds, the Roman commander, with all his skill, might have been foiled. Probably Galgacus could not restrain the ardour of his troops, and the *præfervidum ingenium Scotorum** was attended with the consequences that so often proved fatal to the gallant armies of North Britain. As for the war-chariots of the Caledonians, we are of the same opinion with a certain learned ANTIQUARY, and can only express our wonder, how it was possible for the *Covinari* to guide them in any part of Scotland, unless upon a turnpike road. That they were used by the natives in this battle, is expressly mentioned by Tacitus; and as they have certainly been used in war by other semi-barbarous nations, there seems no reason to doubt the fact:

* “ The scalding-hot temper of the Scots.”

indeed the figures of Pictish chariots, carved on stones, are to be seen within a few miles of Blairgowrie.

There is a tradition, universally prevalent in this quarter, that in very ancient times, and, it is generally added, in the times of the Romans, a great battle was fought in the Stormont.* *Stour*, in Saxon, signifies strife, or battle; and the Stormont is supposed to derive its name from the engagement between Agricola and Galgacus, in which the natives lost 10,000 men. The *Stourment*, or main battle, is supposed to have happened in the heart of the Stormont, in the parishes of Kinloch, Cluny, and Blairgowrie, at the places called Cairns, and Blair; Upper Balcairn, Nether Balcairn, Cairn Butts, and Craig Roman; Pitcairn, and a number of *tumuli*, called Haer Cairns, north of East Logie; westward of Loaning, are the Rough Stanes; south of Lunan Burn, and Cluny, we have Kincairny, and Nether Kincairny, with Cairn Muir, and Steeds' Stalls. Here, we suppose, the Batavian and Tungrian cohorts first closed with the Caledonians, and the carnage had been great. That it was the practice of the Britons to raise cairns over the slain, is universally known, and where these are numerous, we may reasonably conclude, that a great battle was fought in their vicinity. At Cairn Muir are three large cairns, the greatest being 150 feet in diameter at the base, and 18 feet high; half a mile to the southwest is another 120 feet in diameter, and 14 feet in height; at the same distance, and in a line with these two, there is a third of smaller dimensions. We have some suspicion that these three may have been Druidical; this, however, would enhance the sepulture of the fallen chiefs. Besides those mentioned, which have

* *Vide* Appendix, B.

given names to places, there are many more cairns in this neighbourhood. Kin-cairny is Gaelic, and signifies High Cairn, or the Head of the Cairns, and we found none to the westward of this; Bal-cairn, the Town of the cairn; Pit-cairn, the Cairn of graves, and so of the rest. At the east end of Gourdie Craig, and half a mile south of Cluny, there is a curious piece of antiquity, called by the country people *Steeds' Stalls*, consisting of eight mounds and eight corresponding trenches, all of equal lengths, alternate and parallel; and at the south end of each trench, there is a circular concavity. Here, we suppose, those who fell in the action, belonging to the Batavian and Tungrian cohorts, were collected and buried. On the east side of the field of battle, we have Ard Blair, Blair Hill, Blairgowrie, Little Blair, and Loch Blair. If one might hazard a conjecture from uncertain etymology, we would conclude, that, in the vicinity of Blairgowrie, Galgacus, having rallied the Caledonians, made his last desperate effort to retrieve the fortune of the day, while the Romans endeavoured to close upon him on all sides. In Gaelic, *Blair-go-ri*, or *righ*, signifies "Battle—to take—the King." We are conscious that this derivation of Gowrie may appear to be *recherché*, or far-fetched, even to those conversant in Celtic etymons; but if this be not the meaning of the word, it must be Pictish, and Blair-gowrie will, in that case, belong to two languages. The flight of the Caledonians may still be traced by numerous cairns, through the Maws, in this parish, along the tract that lies between the moss of Cochrige on the west, and the river Ericht on the east. The great cairn of the Maws lies in this tract, not far from the wonderful chasm through which the Ericht finds its way to the low country: here, we suppose, the Caledonians made a stand, and cut off

some of their enemies who were most forward in the pursuit, as is related by the Roman historian. This cairn is about 80 feet in diameter, and 5 feet high. It has been opened, and was found to contain human teeth sound, and a great quantity of human bones much reduced, which were mixed with charcoal. Early in the last century, there was dug out of a moss, or peat bog, in this neighbourhood, the body of a Roman soldier, in full armour. He was found in an upright posture, and it was conjectured, that he had belonged to the army of Agricola, and had been drowned in the bog, when endeavouring to escape from the swords of the Caledonians. The preservative powers of peat bog are well known.

The names of places in this part of the country are for the most part Celtic; such as, Pittendriech, the cemetery of the Druids—Driech being the plural of Druid; Lethendy, the table of the Gods; Eshendy, refers to the same superstition; and near to Marlie is a Druidical temple, being upright stones placed in a circular form, enclosing an altar, which, no doubt, stood formerly in the recess of an oaken grove. There are also a few, of unknown antiquity, that have no meaning in Gaelic, and which we therefore conclude to be Pictish; such as Meiklour, Logie, Alva, &c. The two last are often repeated in the east of Scotland, north of the Forth. The name of the commander of the united forces of the Caledonians on this occasion, is decidedly Celtic: the *Calgacus* of Tacitus, and the English Galgacus, seem evidently to be the Celtic *Colgach*, “Fiercely-looking;” some have even supposed that this was the Colgach mentioned by Ossian, *Temora*, b. iii. who was the ancestor of Gaul, the son of Morni, and one of the most renowned warriors of Fingal. Be

this as it may, virtuous men will revere the memory of Galgacus, and the Caledonians, who, at *Mons Grampius*, bravely drew their swords for sacred liberty. In this field 10,000 fell, resisting the reckless ambition of Rome; and, while we surveyed the mouldering cairns raised above their graves, we felt we were treading among the ashes of heroes and of patriots “in righteous battle slain.”

The Caledonians, on being defeated by Agricola, appear to have retreated by Glenshee. On the east side of this glen, and north from Meiklour, at the distance of 14 miles, is Mount Blair, which rises 2476 feet above the sea. It is 8 miles north of the Cairns at the Maws; and though we know of no evidence that the Romans pursued so far, yet being a swelling mountain with a lofty peak, in the direct line of the battle-field from the Roman camp, if Tacitus meant to honour any particular part of the range with the name of *Mons Grampius*, it might, perhaps, be Mount Blair, “the mount of battle.” But we only submit this for the consideration of antiquaries.* Galgacus, to whom the chiefs on this occasion yielded voluntary obedience, on account of his superior wisdom and prowess, seems to have been the first who ever commanded the united forces of the Caledonian tribes; and on being defeated by the Romans, it is probable that the chiefs would resume their independence, till they were again obliged to fight in defence of their liberties. Nothing, therefore, can be more absurd,

* We may here notice the mistake of a learned ANTIQUARY, whose memory was at fault, when he says, this battle was fought, *in conspectu classis*, “in sight of the fleet.” Tacitus says no such thing; but, in the speech of Galgacus, there is this expression, *imminente nobis classe Romanâ*, “the Roman fleet impending on our coasts.”

than the fables related by our historians, concerning kings of Scotland at this period, and during the previous 400 years, except the still more inconsistent fictions of the Welsh and the Irish, regarding the actions of their imaginary kings, some of whom are said to have begun to make a figure in the days of that Pharaoh, who was drowned in the Red Sea. Donald O'Neal, *Fhlaith*, or petty king of Ulster, in his letter to Pope John XXII. in the year 1317, deduces his lineage from Niul, the son of Fenius Farsa, the great-grandson of Japhet.

According to Tacitus, the Caledonians were of large stature; and this is confirmed by the remains found in cairns: courageous as they were strong, and superior in numbers, yet they were defeated, with the loss of 10,000 men, while, of the Romans, only 360 are said to have fallen. That the Romans conquered the world, is universally known; that they were almost constantly victorious, must have struck every reader of their history; and we shall slightly notice the principal causes of their success, as the surprising difference in the number of the slain in this engagement, requires some explanation. The first cause of Roman superiority was owing to their standing armies; for their troops may be considered of this description, from the time of the siege of Vei; and their discipline was severe. Standing armies, or regular troops, are superior to all other armies; and the Romans had to contend only with militia, except in their wars with the Carthaginians and Macedonians. The second cause was the composition of the legion, a body so admirably adapted to every kind of military service, that its origin has been ascribed to inspiration: in fight, it was not easily thrown into disorder; and, after being dislocated, in crossing rough

or broken ground, it could quickly regain its disposition. Polybius shews its superiority to the Macedonian phalanx. The third cause was their general knowledge of the art of war, combined with the skill of particular commanders. The military science may be said to have been the study of the whole people; the men of rank were all fit to take charge of troops; and, among so many accomplished persons, generals of superior talents could always be found, and such were commonly appointed to lead their armies. The fourth cause was their order of battle: the troops were drawn up in three lines, the *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*. The first consisted of the younger men, who were named *Hastati*, from being originally armed with short spears, but these were soon laid aside; the *Principes* were those in middle age, on whom depended the tug of battle; and the *Triarii* consisted of veterans, who carried pikes as well as swords. If the *Hastati* were defeated, they retired through the intervals of the *Principes* and *Triarii*, and again formed in the rear: if the *Principes* also gave ground, the veterans advanced through the intervals. Besides their cavalry, on which they did not much depend, there were several other descriptions of force in the Roman armies; but enough has been said to shew, that three actions had to be fought before a battle was altogether lost. The fifth cause of Roman superiority, and the last we shall mention, was the excellence of their armour, and of their arms. The rich among them had coats of mail that covered the vital parts of the body; the rest had breast-plates; and all had helmets of brass. They had boots for the legs. The Roman shield was convex, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, and 4 feet long, the largest 4 feet and a palm: it was made

of wood, covered with linen, and then with hide ; to the surface was fixed a shell of iron, and at both ends were plates of that metal, as well to secure it from strokes of swords, as that it might be rested on the ground without injury. The sword which subdued the world was short, and carried on the right thigh : it was formed, not only to push with the point, on which the Romans chiefly depended, but also to make a falling stroke with either edge ; the blade was remarkably strong and firm, and the handle had a good guard. Polybius does not mention the length of the blade : some have been found in North Britain, only from 12 to 16 inches in length. The soldiers had also excellent javelins, or darts. When drawn up, each man was allowed a space of 3 feet, and 3 more to handle his arms. All the barbarous nations with whom the Romans contended in war, had small shields and long swords ; and it is particularly mentioned by Tacitus, as having been disadvantageous to the Caledonians in this engagement, that their small bucklers and huge unwieldy swords, blunt at the point, were unfit for a close encounter : “ — *parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus ; nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum, et in aperto pugnam non tolerabant.*” The Romans constantly endeavoured to engage with the enemy in close fight ; advancing shield to shield, at a suitable distance they discharged their javelins, and, rushing forward, each soldier received upon his ample buckler the stroke of the long sword of his adversary ; and, when the right arm was lifted up to repeat the blow, the short Roman blade found the way to the heart. Hence the carnage of the barbarians, as they called them, was dreadful, while comparatively few of the Romans fell.

Though the language of Tacitus implies, that the whole number killed in this engagement, on the side of the Romans, was only 360; yet we strongly suspect that the number mentioned by the historian was only the legionary dead, without including that of the auxiliaries and confederate Britons, who, according to Roman policy, bore the brunt of the action. The legions seem also to have been engaged, for the only officer of rank who fell was Aulus Atticus, the commander of a cohort; and this tends to confirm our mistrust of the return of the slain in the army of Agricola. Of the wounded, Tacitus says nothing; but the number was probably great: and, either waiting for their recovery, or from his army being much disabled, the Roman general appears not to have undertaken any enterprise of moment for the remainder of the campaign. After routing the Caledonians, he deemed it not prudent to follow them into the Highlands. Tacitus excuses his father-in-law, because the season was too far advanced; but as Agricola, he tells us, took the field early, when the Britons, 30,000 strong, were already encamped on the face of *Mons Grampius*, there is no probability that the battle with Galgacus took place long after mid-summer. We are far from insinuating, that Agricola acted otherwise than as a brave and skilful commander, though he evidently declined following the Caledonians into “the deep recesses of their woods and mountains,” — *silvarum et montium profunda*. “He marched his army into the territories of the Horestii, from whom he took hostages; and, that the spirit of the *new* nations might be more thoroughly subdued, by a longer continuance of their conquerors among them, he led his army through their countries

by slow and easy marches, and then put his troops into winter quarters."

Antiquaries are divided in opinion as to the country into which Agricola marched after the battle, some thinking the Horestii were in Angus and Mearns; others, that they inhabited Fife. Richard places them in Fife, and to the westward, as far as Comrie in Perthshire; for he says, their towns were *Alauna*, *Lindum*, and *Victoria*, Keir, Ardoch, and Dealgin Ross. The Horestii mentioned by Tacitus were unknown to Ptolemy, who gives these towns to the Damnii. Richard's accounts bear every mark of truth; and, lib. i. c. 7. he acknowledges, that "he altered his authorities, differing sometimes from Ptolemy and others; but, as he hopes the alterations he made were for the better, he trusts he does not, on that account, merit reprehension."* As we are ignorant of the reasons which induced Richard to place the Horestii in Fife, we need not blame him; but, from whatever source he derived his information, there is reason to conclude that he was led into a mistake. Agricola carried his ravages to the estuary of the Tay, three years before he marched against Galgacus, so the inhabitants of Fife could not now, with any propriety, be called *new* nations; nor would a commander, so skilful, have advanced to *Mons Grampius*, leaving Fife behind him unsubdued: to reduce that peninsula would not have occupied the Roman general during the remainder of the summer; nor could it, at any time, on account of its circumscribed limits, have made any effectual resistance to such a force as

* Lib. i. c. 7. *Ex Ptolemæo et aliunde nonnullis ordinem quoque, sed quod spero in melius, mutatum hinc inde deprehendes.*

the army of Agricola. There are few traces of the Romans found in Fife; but the permanent camp at Loch Ore, and two or three smaller posts, with *Alauna*, *Lindum*, *Hierna*, and *Victoria*, in which it seems probable that Agricola wintered with his army, would sufficiently overawe the inhabitants of Fife, and, consequently, to take hostages from them would be unnecessary. Pinkerton, in his *Inquiry*, Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, and almost all who have treated of the campaigns of Agricola, say, that, after the battle of *Mons Grampius*, he retreated, or led back his forces into the territories of the Horestii. General Roy says the same thing; and it seems to have been this circumstance which led him to suppose, that the traces of the battle might be looked for in the Mearns. One would be tempted to think, that each succeeding antiquary took the matter upon trust from his predecessors, without consulting the text; for the expression of Tacitus does not imply any retrograde movement,—*in fines Horestorum exercitum deducit*,* “he marched his army into the territories of the Horestii.” It must be acknowledged, that *deducere* does sometimes signify to convey, or to withdraw; and Agricola may be said to have conveyed his army, or to have withdrawn his troops into Angus, instead of following the Caledonians among the Grampians; but *deducere* commonly means to lead forth, and in this sense we find the word elsewhere used by Tacitus,—*deducere legiones in aciem*, “to lead forth the legions to battle.” It seems unreasonable to suppose that Agricola, after gaining a victory so decisive, com-

* On looking into Murphy's elegant Translation of Tacitus, we are happy to find that here he uses this very phrase.

menced his retreat, without advancing a step, to reap the fruits of his toil. To us it appears, that, after defeating Galgacus at Blairgowrie, the Roman commander advanced into Strathmore, probably then, as it is now, the richest portion of Scotland; sent part of his troops on board his fleet, at Montrose Basin, Lunan Bay, or probably at Invergowrie; and, having taken hostages from the inhabitants of Angus, returned by easy marches, to winter at the places formerly mentioned, when he founded Victoria. Some of the camps discovered in Strathmore, appear to have been occupied by the same army which encamped at Ardoch and Grassy Walls, being of the same size, and constructed in the same manner: we agree, therefore, with those antiquaries who think the Horestii inhabited Angus and Mearns; and we are pleased to find this to be General Roy's opinion, to which we pay much respect.

Before attempting to trace the march of Agricola farther, we must notice the camps to which we formerly alluded, as being in the vicinity of Meiklour. Three miles to the eastward, Cupar Angus is situated near the middle of a Roman camp. Maitland, *Hist. of Scot.* p. 199, describes this camp as a square of 1200 feet, fortified with two strong ramparts, and large ditches, which are still to be seen on the eastern and southern sides. Upon the Polybian system, it would hold about 11,000, and upon the Heginian, about 29,000 men. From the double rampart, this does not seem to have been one of the temporary encampments of Agricola. We incline to think it a camp of Lollius Urbicus, and afterwards one of the *castra stativa*, in which a town was founded by the natives, on the departure of the Romans.

At Camp Muir, near Balgershoe, and a mile and a half to the southward of Cupar Angus, there is a small Roman camp, which is crossed by a road, leading from Lintrose to the post road at Burrelton. This camp is oblong, the mean length being 1900, and mean breadth 1220 feet, and would hold 10,000 men, or a legion with its auxiliaries, upon the Polybian system. About three quarters of the intrenchment can still be distinctly traced; and one thing is singular about this camp, that there is only one gate extant, though as much of the ramparts remain as would have been sufficient to have shewn two or three more, if such had originally existed. This gives reason to believe, that the Romans did not always confine themselves to the usual mode in fortifying camps. Perhaps the large opening on the south side, where the ground is of a morassy nature, has been left so from the beginning, and might serve instead of the two principal gates, which are commonly found, one on each side. Of the gate that remains, the traverse is straight, and there seems reason to conclude, that this camp was occupied by Agricola, with one of the divisions of his army, on returning from the country of the Horestii toward his winter quarters. The size of this camp, as well as that at Haerfaulds, to be afterwards noticed, being somewhat less than the small camp at Ardoch, General Roy deduces, from a calculation founded on their measurements, that the number of men sent by Agricola, on board his fleet, amounted to between three and four thousand.

The nameless station of Richard's 10th *Iter*, General Roy conjectures to have been the post at Barry Hill, a mile and a half north-east of Alyth, the distance from *In medio* being about 9 Roman miles. In his memoirs,

he candidly acknowledges, that he had not seen all the antiquities he mentions ; but, in several instances, had been obliged to trust to information received from others ; and, we may safely conclude, he had never visited the two posts on Barry Hill, or he would have seen at once that they were not Roman. Tradition says they are Pictish ; and also, that, in the largest fort, Vanora, or Guinevar, Queen of the British Arthur, was for some time confined. Barry Hill, being one of those that belong to the secondary, or lower range of the Grampians, is of considerable elevation, being about 685 feet above the level of the sea, and commands an extensive view of the Sidla Hills, and of Strathmore. Upon its summit there has been a fort of an elliptical figure, 180 feet long by 74 broad : around this space a mound of earth has been raised, which is still 12 feet in thickness at the top, and 8 feet high : upon this the foundations of the walls, composed of boulders of rough granite, may still be seen, and of the same breadth as the top of the mound ; the walls themselves have been of free stone without cement. Gordon's estimate of the extent of this post is extremely erroneous, and it may have been his account in the *Iter Sept.*, which misled General Roy. Among the ruins of this curious antique fortress are to be found pieces of vitrified breccia, or plumpudding stone ; but the bridge across the moat seems to be the only part of the work which has been intentionally subjected to the process of partial fusion. The south and east sides, where the hill gently slopes, are defended by a fosse 10 feet broad, and in depth from 12 to 16 feet below the foundations of the wall. A bridge has been thrown over the fosse 18 feet long, and at the middle 2 feet

broad, but toward each end the breadth is gradually increased. This bridge is formed of plumpudding stones, put together without much art, and vitrified on all sides, so that the whole mass is thereby firmly cemented. To render the surface smooth, and the passage easy, a stratum of gravel had been laid above the breccia, and filling the interstices, had become incorporated with the stones while in an igneous state. The north and west sides of the hill are steep, and upon these sides the fort is inaccessible; the approach is from the north-east, along the verge of a precipice, and the entrance had been defended by an epaulment of stone, the ruins of which still remain. There is a private passage to the bridge from the south; and westward, between the base of the mound and the precipice, there was formerly a tank that had supplied the fort with water, and which has recently been filled up. Barry seems to be corrupted from the Gaelic, *Bar*, “a summit,” and *Ra*, “a fortress,”—*Bar-Ra*, “the fortress on the top of the hill.” Upon the declivity of Barry Hill, and about half a mile to the south-east, there is another fort, of the same figure as the last, but of less dimensions, and surrounded by a strong wall and moat.—Seven miles south-east of these, on the other side of the valley, and upon the top of one of the Sidla Hills, called Denoon Law, there is also a similar Pictish fort, the longest diameter of which is 360 feet. The walls had been built without cement, and there is only one entrance from the south-west. It is situated in the parish of Glamis, in Forfarshire.—The top of Kinpurnie Hill had likewise been fortified by the Picts, and appears to have been used as a watch-tower. All these works are of unknown antiquity, and various have been the con-

jectures concerning the epoch of their formation, which is generally supposed to have been anterior to the Roman invasion. The circumstance of the walls being constructed without cement,* and partially vitrified, favours this supposition: on the other hand, there is no account of the Romans storming any of these forts, and some of them were capable of being defended for a considerable time.—Let us now endeavour to trace the march of Agricola into the country of the Horestii.

We have seen that the posts at Barry Hill were not Roman works; but, three miles to the southward of these, intrenchments have been discovered at Caerdean, on the peninsula formed by the confluence of Dean Water and the river Isla. The ramparts are so much levelled, that their dimensions cannot now be exactly ascertained; but there is ample space for the encampment of 26,000 men, upon the Polybian system. The Roman road from Cupar Angus, leading to the north-east, toward Battle Dykes, passes through this camp. The situation is excellent; and, indeed, is such, that vestiges of Roman works might have been expected, yet they escaped the notice of antiquaries, till within these few years. *Caer-Dean* signifies the camp, or fortress upon the Dean; it is distant 10 English miles from Meiklour; and, on leaving that place to march into Horestia, we suppose Agricola encamped here with his army.—Dean, in Saxon, has the same import as the English Dell; but the name of this stream seems to be from the Gaelic *Douin*, “deep and dark-coloured.” The Isla appears to derive its name from being subject

* The Romans are believed to have introduced the art of building with cement into Britain.

to floods: *Y-llif*, “a flood,” British. In the twelfth century, Giraldus Cambrensis calls this river *Hylef*.

In advancing through Strathmore, the Roman general seems to have proceeded nearly in a straight direction, parallel to the secondary ranges of the Grampians, which were distant three or four miles from his line of march. When the Romans invaded a country, they fixed upon a distant hill, or some other conspicuous object, upon which they directed their route; and, by keeping one or more intervening objects also in view, they were commonly enabled, in long reaches, to take the shortest lines. Their ordinary day's march being from 8 to 15 miles, according to circumstances, if two camps be found, we may expect to discover one or two more in the same direction; and these may be looked for in such places as the Romans preferred for their encampments, and formerly described. The most eligible of such situations they chose for their *castra stativa*, or garrisons; and, after subduing the country, they connected these by *Itinera*, or military roads. If they were driven from a province, succeeding generals advanced upon the roads formed by their predecessors, and again occupied the camps of former commanders, repairing the old ramparts, or throwing up new intrenchments, according to the number of their troops, and their system of defence.—It is probable, that Lollius Urbicus reoccupied several of the camps of Agricola, in the country of the Horestii, and formed the military ways which connect them, as the latter could hardly have had time to execute such works, after the defeat of Galgacus, and before his recall by the Emperor Domitian.

The next encampment of Agricola, we suppose to

have been at Battle Dykes, 12 English miles north-east of Caerdean, and 3 miles north of the town of Forfar. This camp is situated in the parish of Oathlaw, on the eastern declivity of a small hill, having the South Esk on one side, about a mile to the northward, and the rivulet of Lemno on the other, within a quarter of a mile to the southward. Three sides, and part of the fourth, are almost entire; and five gates are distinctly seen. The traverses are straight. The *prætorium* seems to have been upon the highest ground, near the west side of the camp: the intrenchment upon this side is for the greater part effaced; but in it must have been situated the Decumen Gate, as the east side appears to have been the front. On the south side is a large *tumulus*, or cairn of loose stones, at a short distance from the rampart, and to the westward of what was called the Quintane* Gate. The camp is oblong, but broader in the front than in the rear: its mean length is 2970 feet, and its mean breadth 1850, being a trifle larger than the great camp at Ardoch. Of course, it would contain 26,000 men upon the Polybian system; and as the intrenchments and traverses of the gates are also similar to the camp at Ardoch, there seems reason to conclude that this camp was occupied by Agricola. From the name, we might be led to suppose that a battle had been fought here; but no traces of an engagement are to be found, unless the large tumulus above mentioned be regarded as such. This, however, has generally been considered an exploratory post,

* The Quintane Street was near the front of the camp, and parallel to the principal street; it was so called, because it passed in front of the fifth cohort; and the gates in the ramparts which opened upon this street, were called the Quintane Gates.

though we are tempted to think that the summit of the small hill, upon the declivity of which the camp is situated, would have been a better station for the *exploratores*. Such a *tumulus*, or *tumuli*, being found near many of the Roman stations, and temporary camps, it is probable they were raised above the ashes, or the bodies, of the Romans and their allies, who died of their wounds, or of a natural death, while the army occupied these intrenchments. Doubtless a skirmish may have taken place here, though not mentioned by Tacitus; yet there is no probability that Agricola would be attacked in his camp. A slight engagement may have happened, when Lollius Urbicus had the command, or even at a much later period; but the names of Battle Dykes, and of War Dykes, another camp to the eastward, may have been given to them by the country people, for no other reason, but because they were evidently ramparts which had been thrown up by soldiers concerned in war.

The Roman road from Caerdean passed through Battle Dykes. Maitland, *Hist. Scot.* vol. i. p. 200, mentions, that "John Webster, the farmer who resided in, and laboured this camp, turned up with the plough the foundations of this road, in divers parts of its course through the camp." To the eastward, it crosses a ford in the South Esk, at the peninsula formed by the influx of the Noran, where we supposed *Æsica* may have stood; and it traverses the Muir of Brechin, toward War Dykes and King's Ford in the North Esk, where *Tina* was probably placed. It does not pass through Brechin, nor does it appear to have given off a branch to that town in crossing the *Muir*; and these circumstances confirm our belief that *Æsica* was not situated at

Brechin. This Roman military way is, by the country people, called *The Picts' Road*; and it is also called *Michael Scot's Causeway*. Michael is said, by magic power, to have formed *The Lang Causeway* in one night.

General Roy justly observes, that the localities in the neighbourhood of Battle Dykes, do not suit the description, as given by Tacitus, in the account of the engagement with Galgacus. To attack the Caledonians on the declivities of the Grampians, distant three or four miles, Agricola must have crossed the South Esk, a circumstance not mentioned by the historian. Had the Britons been posted on Cat Law, the Roman general would not have passed Kirriemuir, but would have turned to the left, and pitched his camp upon one of the eminences of the ridge, two miles north of that town. No intrenchments, however, have been discovered on this ridge, and no traces of battle are to be found about Cat Law. "Upon the banks of the Esk, in a retired spot, 5 miles above Kirriemuir, ramparts, evidently Roman," are said to have been seen; and it is not improbable that Urbicus might establish a post in this gorge of the Grampians.

Two or three miles west of Cat Law, and a mile north of Lentrathen, there is a monumental stone, at a place called *Drumcairn*; we have also *Pitqueen* and *Pitmoodie*, in the vicinage, upon Melgum Water; two miles to the westward of Lentrathen, there are *Black Dykes* and *Wardhead*; a solitary monumental stone stands upon the west side of the Isla. *Pit* signifies a grave; and though no ramparts are now to be seen at Black Dykes and Wardhead, there are a number of *tumuli*, or cairns, and undoubtedly there has been a good deal of fighting hereabouts. Drumderg is a hilly

ridge, immediately to the northward of these monuments, and we suppose them to be the memorials of the battle of Drumderg, in which Drust and Ungus, or Hungus, contended for the superiority in Pictish civil war, and in which Drust was defeated and slain, anno 728.—*Ulster Annals*.

Three miles to the eastward of Battle Dykes, Findhaven hill, and several adjoining eminences of considerable elevation, rise in the middle of Strathmore. Upon the summit of the former, which is about 1500 feet above the level of the sea, there is a Pictish fort, similar to those already mentioned. The foundations of the walls only remain, and from these it appears to have been of an elliptical figure, or oblong with the corners rounded off, being 412 feet long by 112 broad. The walls seem to have been constructed without cement, and to have undergone the action of fire, like many others of this description in North Britain. These vitrified forts have engaged the attention of antiquaries, ever since their discovery in 1777, and many pens have been employed in describing their formation. Some concluded that their vitrification had been owing to the action of volcanic fire, of which this hill of Finhaven was supposed to afford convincing proofs. Near the fort there is a cavity which has the semblance of the crater of an extinct volcano; but of the lava said to have been found on the sides of the hill, not a vestige remains, and the origin of the cavity is very problematical. We suppose it might have been a natural hollow, or perhaps the quarry from which the stones were taken to construct the fort, with any buildings it might contain: stones might also be conveyed from this place at different times, and for various purposes. As for the

lava said to have been discovered on the side of the hill, we imagine it would be the vitrified fragments tossed from the summit, when the fort was thrown down. These vitrified forts are by no means confined to this district, or to Pictland: they are frequent in the Highlands, and are also found in South Britain, particularly in Cornwall. The stones with which they are built are composed of trap rocks, or breccia, commonly called plumpudding stone: these substances are easily fused; and this the natives probably discovered by accident. The walls are seldom more than partially vitrified; and, to effect this, it seems only necessary, after they were raised to a proper height, and the interstices filled with sand or gravel, to have piled great quantities of wood and bog-turf, mixed with brushwood, within and without the fort, heaping them above the walls: upon fire being set to these combustible materials, during a gale of wind, the intense heat would produce the vitreous result upon the trap, or breccia, in the course of a few hours. The stones would not only be firmly cemented, but to appearance become a solid mass, and the surfaces of the walls being rendered impervious to water, this circumstance would contribute much to their preservation. It is likely the outside of the foundations would then be scarped all round, except at the entrance; and in some cases, as at Barry Hill, this seems to have been defended by a fosse, with a narrow bridge, the approach to which was covered by an epaulment of stone. That this simple process of vitrification was followed by the natives of North Britain, is the more probable, that, when the foundations of the walls of these forts happen to be on the verge of a precipice, the outside of the wall does not appear to have been subjected to the action of fire,

it being impossible to attach the combustible materials in such situations ; also, that, in various parts, the stones are very little fused, and in other places not at all, which might be owing to their position with regard to the direction of the wind. Vitrified forts are said to have been recently discovered in the Caucasus, and also in Tartary ; hence, a learned author has deduced the eastern origin of the early inhabitants of the British Isles : but, unless they sprung out of the ground, which indeed seems to have been the opinion of Pinkerton respecting the aboriginal Celtæ, we do not see from what quarter the progenitors of the inhabitants of the western parts of Europe could have come, but from the East. It has never been supposed that they came from the western continent.

While the army of Agricola remained at Battle Dykes, he seems to have advanced with a division of his forces to War Dykes, a camp immediately to the eastward of the enclosures of Kethick, and north of Brechin 3 English miles. It is oblong ; and, though the ramparts are so much obliterated, that it is now impossible to ascertain the length exactly, there is strong reason to conclude it had been about 1900 feet. The breadth is 1300 ; and being of the same size as the small camp at Ardoch, it would, of course, hold 12,000 men, upon the Polybian system. The west side is nearly entire. The gate is not in the middle, but nearer to the north side ; and we think it most probable, that this was the Decumen gate. The traverse is straight. Portions of the adjoining intrenchments, both of the north and south sides, remain ; and their direction can be traced so far, as to indicate that the south side was deflected outward, in approaching the front of the camp, which we suppose to have

been on the east side. A little to the westward of the flexure, there is a small loch on the line of intrenchment. On a gentle eminence south-east of the camp, there is a square *tumulus*, which probably was the station of the *exploratores*, since from the camp itself, the country lying to the south-east could not be seen, because of this intervening height. One reason which induces us to suppose that this camp had been occupied by Agricola, is, that it is nearly in a direct line with the camps at Meiklour, Caerdean, and Battle Dykes; from the last of which it is distant $11\frac{1}{2}$ English miles north-eastward, and is clearly in the same route, or line of march. This circumstance would, no doubt, have been noticed by General Roy, had he been aware that Roman intrenchments existed at Meiklour and Caerdean; but he concludes this to have been a camp of Agricola, because the traverse of the gate is straight, the ramparts similar, and the size very nearly the same as the small camp at Ardoch. We incline to think it had been reoccupied by Urbicus, because of the military way formerly mentioned, extending to War Dykes,—a circumstance also unknown to General Roy, or he might, perhaps, have been of opinion, that Agricola could hardly have had time to execute such works; and roads were never formed by the Romans, but in a conquered province. This camp is now called Black Dykes.

About 4 miles north-west of Kethick, or Keithock, upon a ridge in the parish of Menmuir, which runs parallel to the lower ranges of the Grampians, are two Pictish fortresses, called the White and the Brown Cater Thun. They are constructed upon summits of moderate elevation. The highest, which is White Cater

Thun, being only 300 feet above the general level of Strathmore. This is, perhaps, the strongest Pictish fortification extant. It is surrounded by a double rampart of an elliptical figure, being 436 feet long, by 200 broad, and containing about 2 imperial acres. The space within the principal rampart is of small extent; the foundations of buildings are seen; and near the middle of the fort, there seems to have been a rectangular *prætorium*, which is not usually met with in works of this kind. But the most wonderful thing that occurs in this Pictish fort, is the extraordinary dimensions of the rampart, composed entirely of large loose stones, being 26 feet thick at the top, and upward of 100 at the bottom, reckoning quite to the ditch, which, indeed, seems to be much filled up with the tumbling down of the walls. The vast labour that it must have cost to amass so enormous a quantity of large stones, and convey them to such a height, is astonishing. A simple earthen breast-work surrounds the ditch; and below this, at the distance of about 150 feet on the two sides, but 70 on each end, there is another double intrenchment of the same kind, running round the slope of the hill. This intermediate space probably served as a camp for the troops in garrison, as, from the small extent of the area, only a portion of them could be contained in the interior fort. The entrance into this is only by a single gate at the east end; but opposite to it, there are two, leading through the outward intrenchment; and between these two gates, a work projects, no doubt for containing some men posted there, as an additional security to that quarter. North-east of this fort, and distant three-fourths of a mile, is the Brown Cater Thun, on the summit of an eminence, but not so

high as that on which the former is situated. Its figure approaches much nearer to a circle than the White Cater Thun; and it is fortified with several slight earthen intrenchments, whereof the inner one seems to have served as a *prætorium*. The next to it is the strongest, and has no fewer than 7 gates; and the outer ramparts have likewise several openings for the *sorteè* of the garrison.

History and tradition are altogether silent as to the time when these forts were constructed; but we would be disposed to assign a date posterior to the times of the Romans. The double ramparts of the first, the defence between the two gates, with the appearance of a *prætorium*; also, the several envelopes of the second, with the number of its gates, would seem to have been copied from the permanent and temporary camps of that people, though the square, or oblong form, had not been adopted. If we might hazard a conjecture,—and we offer it merely as such,—while wars were frequent between the Picts and Scots, and Pictland infested by the Vikingr, the seat of Pictish government having been some time at Brechin, these strongholds might be constructed in the vicinage, not only for a secure retreat to the royal family, but likewise for an asylum to females of rank, in cases of invasion. In conveying the enormous quantity of large stones to the summit of White Cater Thun, the natives must doubtless have expended great labour, and much time. They seem, however, to have been familiar with a method of removing immense masses from considerable distances; and it is supposed they made use of hurdles on such occasions: it is not improbable they might have some kind of rude windlass, for raising the larger stones from the

bottom to the top of the hill. With regard to the names of the White and Brown Cater Thuns, the first apparently derives the epithet of White from the light colour of the stones whereof its rampart is composed; and the last seems to be distinguished by the epithet of Brown, from its being overgrown with heath. Cater, or Cather, as it is sometimes called, we take to be the Pictish word for Castle, and akin to the Gaelic *Cathair*, pronounced *Cair*, the British *Caer*, or Welsh *Cader*; such as *Cader Idris*. *Thun* seems pure Pictish, and we suppose it to have the same meaning as the Celtic and Gothic *Dun*, a Hill or Fort. The Celtic has *Dhun* in the oblique case. So, *Cater Thun* would signify the Castle on the Hill. As for the king Thuanus, he appears to be a nonentity. During the dark ages, the Scotch and Irish monks having little to do, amused themselves in giving Latin terminations to barbarous names, and inventing legends concerning personages that never existed: their stories are full of anachronisms and inconsistencies, which were not perceived, while clouds of ignorance and superstition overshadowed the understandings of men; and their tales being adopted by the writers of chronicles, and retailed by the early historians of the two countries, the result has been a tissue of fiction in the shape of history.

Between Kethick and the Cater Thuns, fragments of arms have been found, and *tumuli* and cairns are to be seen: though these are not so numerous as to indicate a great battle, they shew that a smart engagement has happened hereabouts; and cross swords are inserted in the Map of the Basin of the Tay, where fragments of arms have been discovered. We suppose the traces of slaughter, in this neighbourhood, refer to a battle

fought in 1130, between King David and Angus Earl of Moray, grandson of Lulach, the son of Gruoch, granddaughter of Kenneth IV. Angus claimed the Scottish throne in right of Gruoch, and, advancing southward at the head of the Moray men who supported his title, he was met in this pass, and entirely overthrown by David. — *Chron. Mailros*, and *Ulster Annals*. Strickathrow, or Strackathro', the name of the parish immediately to the eastward, appears to derive its name either from this, or from some former engagement. *Strath-Cath-Ra'*, "The battle-in the strath, or valley-of the Forts." This was the principal pass from Angus to the northward, by King's Ford in the North Esk, where *Tina* was supposed to have been placed. The Danes are said to have fled this way from the battle of Aberlemno; and, though we know of no action on record, but the one above mentioned, that has taken place here, there may have been others not noticed in history. Near the town of Brechin, about two miles to the south-west, a victory is said to have been obtained over the Danes, early in the eleventh century, by the chief of the family of Keith, who, having killed their general, was advanced to great honours by Malcolm II. In the vicinity of the same town, in 1452, the Earl of Huntly, in support of the royal authority of James II. encountered the Tiger-Earl of Crawford, who had taken arms for the Douglasses. Owing chiefly to the desertion, during the battle, of John Collasse of Balnamoon, with his following, Crawford was defeated. It is not improbable, that some of the *tumuli* and cairns found near Strackathro', and between Kethick and the Cater Thuns, may be the memorials of those who fell in either of these engagements. The Danes would fly from Brechin toward King's Ford; and

Crawford would take refuge in Edzel Castle, crossing this ancient battle-field.

Before leaving Kethick and the Cater Thuns, it seems proper to mention, that Principal Playfair is of opinion, that the battle between Agricola and the Caledonians under Galgacus was fought here, as all the seven circumstances, which he thinks must determine the question, correspond with the account of Tacitus. *Descrip. of Scot.* vol. i. p. 430. We formerly remarked, that these circumstances apply almost equally well to every other situation proposed; and, therefore, we shall only notice the two last. “6. That the battle was fought near a part of the Grampians, at no great distance from the sea shore, to which Agricola might retire, without danger of his communication being cut off from his ships.” Upon this we have to observe, that no part of the march of the Roman commander appears to have been at a greater distance from the sea shore than 15 miles; but, from the relation of Tacitus, there is no reason to infer that Agricola, during this campaign, expected any other advantage from the co-operation of his fleet than what was to be derived from partial descents, and ravages of the coast, which could not fail to alarm and distract the attention of the enemy,—“*Premissâ classe, quæ pluribus locis prædata, magnum et incertum terrorem faceret.*” Besides, it was not the mode of Roman warfare, nor the custom of that people, to depend upon their fleets for support, or to retire to their ships, like the Vikingr, in cases of defeat. “7. That after the battle he descended into Horestia, which lay on the south side of the Esk.” It is not evident from this sentence, whether the historiographer conceived that Agricola advanced or retreated, after defeating

Galgacus, or whether he meant the North or the South Esk. To us it appears, that, biassed by the opinion generally adopted by antiquaries, he has expressed himself ambiguously, yet meant to say, the Roman general retreated across the South Esk. From Kethick to Brechin, a march of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles would effect such retreat; and, had this been the case, we might expect to find vestiges of a camp opposite to that town, or to the southward, upon Lunan water, or in the tract of land lying between Montrose and Arbroath; but no traces of the Romans have been discovered in that quarter. We are pleased to find the learned Doctor of opinion, that this was the country of the Horestii; but there is no reason to suppose the region inhabited by that people did not comprehend the whole of Angus, and, extending to the North Esk, of course included the camp at Kethick, and the supposed battle-field. Our objections to Dr Playfair's hypothesis are,—that the camp at Kethick would hold only 12,000 men, upon the Polybian system, or a division only of the army of Agricola, consisting of 26,000; that the traces of an engagement in the vicinity do not indicate a great battle; that the hilly ridge, on the eminences of which the Cater Thuns are placed, and on which the Caledonians are supposed to have been encamped, is a bad military position, in respect it is easily turned. If these fortresses existed in the age of Agricola, as the learned author seems to suppose, though each could have held but a maniple of the army of Galgacus, they have been so strong, that to take them by storm, would probably have baffled the Roman general; but Tacitus makes no allusion to the Caledonian position being strengthened by forts, or of these having engaged the

attention of the Romans in this affair. Agricola was in no condition to lay siege to them, his army being equipped *expeditus*, wanting munition, or in modern phrase, without the *materiel*. Our last objection to the hypothesis of Principal Playfair is, that after the victory, the Roman commander advanced, marching his army into Horestia, or Angus, as already shewn.

Here, too, it seems proper to revert to the opinion of General Roy. He inclines to think this celebrated battle-field should be looked for "near Fettercairn, Monboddo, or perhaps to the eastward of these places, and nearer to Stonehaven." He knew of the camp at Rae Dykes, 2 miles north-west of Urie, and that there were traces of fighting near it; yet he does not give it as his opinion, that Agricola occupied this camp, or that the vicinage of Urie was the scene of action. From his modestly saying where he thought it might be looked for, it is evident, he was satisfied that the true place had not then been discovered. A Roman camp has since been found not far from Monboddo; but no marks of battle are to be seen in the neighbourhood. The General did not know of the camp at Meiklour, nor of the numerous vestiges of slaughter in the vicinity of Blairgowrie, with the tradition of a great battle being fought in the Stormont: he was convinced that Angus was the country of the Horestii: it is our impression that he was misled by preceding antiquaries, in supposing, that, after the battle, Agricola retreated into that country, and naturally concluded, that it had been fought to the northward, and, probably, somewhere in the Mearns. We have endeavoured to shew (page 78,) that the expression of Tacitus implies no retrograde movement; and, that it was not to be supposed

Agricola would immediately commence a retreat, upon gaining a decisive victory.

The Roman post at the Clattering Brig, 3 miles to the northward of Fettercairn, we have already noticed, in following the 9th *Iter* of Richard.

The camp to which we alluded as being not far from Monboddo, is situated three quarters of a mile south-west of that mansion, and close to Fordoun House; being about a mile to the southward of Fordoun Kirk, and the village of Auchenblae. It is distant from War Dykes 11 English miles, in a north-east direction, and in the same line of march with Battle Dykes, Caerdean, &c. The intrenchments were nearly entire about the middle of the last century, but are now, for the most part, ploughed down. Parts, however, of two sides still remain; these traces run at right angles to one another, and seem to have composed the north and west sides of the camp. On the east side, there are several springs, and, it is said, Luther Water formerly ran through the west side. So much of the rampart has been levelled, that its dimensions cannot be ascertained; yet it appears to have been a large temporary camp, capable of holding an army of about 26,000 men, and might have been occupied by Agricola. But there are no appearances to warrant the conclusion, that here he encountered Galgacus; there is no tradition of a great battle being fought in this part of the country; and the names of places in the vicinity have no relation to strife. Immediately to the eastward of Fordoun House, there is a very entire Roman fort, which is commonly supposed to have been the *prætorium* of the large camp to the westward; but the *prætorium*, or general's tent, was never placed without the camp; and this is evidently

a stative post, of an oblong rectangular form, 250 feet long, by 116 wide. The rampart is very strong; the fosse is 18 feet wide, and is still 6 feet deep. This stative post is similar to that at Clattering Brig, and we incline to think them both the works of Urbicus. Tacitus says, Agricola took hostages from the Horestii, but makes no mention of forts being constructed, or of garrisons being left, in their country, which is generally understood to have been bounded by the North Esk. About half a mile north from this post, upon Drumsleid Hill, there are the remains of a large British strength, called, by the country people, the Scotch camp.

Fordoun, or Fordun, was the birthplace of the father of Scottish history, John of Fordun, of whom afterward; and we shall also briefly notice Palladius, who was sent by Pope Celestine into Scotland, in the fifth century, to oppose the Pelagian heresy, and who is supposed to have had his residence at Fordoun, where he probably died.

We know of no other Roman works in that part of the Mearns which is included in the Map of the Basin of the Tay; but, in the parish of Fetteresso, there is a Roman camp, called Rae Dykes, and sometimes the Camp at Urie. It is situated $10\frac{1}{2}$ English miles to the north-east of the camp at Fordoun, and in the same line of march from Meiklour as the camps already described. There has been fighting near this camp at Urie, but the memorials are not sufficient to warrant the conclusion, that an action of importance happened here; tradition is silent; and the names of places in the neighbourhood have no reference to slaughter. This camp was discovered by Maitland, about the middle of the last century; and in his History of Scot-

land, he pointed it out as the appropriate site of the battle of *Mons Grampius*. Almost every Roman camp north of the Forth, as soon as it has been discovered, was supposed to tally with the account of Tacitus in every particular, and the fond antiquary seldom wants abettors; Tacitus has even been supposed to mistake the Grampians for the Ochils, and the Lomonds in Fife have been supposed to be *Mons Grampius*. "Maitland," says Chalmers, "in his loose conjectures, was copied by Lord Buchan; and Roy followed both, who, in giving an account of the campaigns of Agricola, is always supposing what cannot be allowed, and what he cannot prove." — *Caled.* vol. i. p. 113. General Roy does not follow Maitland, as above shewn, and this is careless writing on the part of Chalmers, whose petulance, in correcting a mistake the General made regarding a distance in the 9th *Iter* of Richard, we formerly noticed. The General writes with all the modesty of genius, upon a subject he well understood; but, on the contrary, Chalmers speaks with confidence upon military affairs, of which he appears to have known very little. He has done much, however, to illustrate the topography and the ancient history of Scotland; and therefore we shall notice an error into which he has fallen, in his account of the Roman transactions in North Britain. He endeavours to shew for what peculiar purpose each camp was pitched, and though he mentions temporary and permanent camps, he makes no distinction as to the different objects for which they were constructed. According to his notion, the policy, as he terms it, of pitching every camp, was either to hold a district in subjection, to command a ford, to guard a pass, or protect a country, and these he particularly points out.

It is plain, however, that if all the temporary camps which have been found in Scotland, had been occupied in that way, at the same time, with troops sufficient to defend the ramparts, it would have required all the legions of imperial Rome to retain possession of the portion of North Britain conquered by that people. Whereas, except under Severus, it does not appear that ever there were more, at one time, than three legions, with their auxiliaries, in this country. The temporary camps being occupied commonly for a few days, and sometimes for a single night, it was only the permanent camps that were constructed for the purposes mentioned by the author of *Caledonia*. The *castra stativa* seem not to have been numerous but upon the walls, and they were seldom intended to hold a large garrison. Two cohorts, or about 1200 men, might constitute the force allotted for the defence of the most important; and there are some posts that would not contain more than a half or a third of that number.

The Roman camp at Peter Culter on the Dee, vulgarly called Norman Dykes, is situated 6 English miles northward of the camp at Urie, and is similar to those we have described in Strathmore. The camp at Glenmailen, in Aberdeenshire, also called Rae Dykes, is similar to that at Urie, and both resemble the camps in Strathmore: they are only different in this particular, that each camp has a remarkable flexure, or elbow, on one side. There are no appearances indicating that an engagement has happened near to Peter Culter, or Glenmailen; and there are no vestiges either of camp, or battle, at Knock Hill, in Banffshire, supposed to be the *Mons Grampius* of Richard.

Though the camp at Peter Culter be similar to Battle

Dykes, in Angus, we incline to think, notwithstanding, that Agricola did not penetrate farther to the northward than Kethick, where we suppose he encamped with a division of his army; that Urbicus advanced upon the same route, and re-occupied some of the camps of the former general, in Strathmore; that he pushed on in the same line of march to Rae Dykes, in the Mearns, and then turned northward to Peter Culter. It is not improbable, that the army of Urbicus was of nearly the same numerical strength with that of Agricola, or about 26,000 men; and also, that the Polybian system of castrametation was followed by both commanders. The traverses of the gates of all these camps are straight; and it is clear, that the intrenchments at Peter Culter were not formed, and could not have been occupied, in the Heginian style. It was during the reign of Hadrian, or about 20 years before Urbicus took the command in North Britain, that the Heginian system began to be adopted in the Roman armies: but this being a remote part of the empire, that system might not yet have found its way to Scotland: or perhaps a great captain, such as Urbicus, would restore the ancient discipline, and prefer the Polybian system of castrametation, as being by far the best.—We make these observations with much diffidence: we conceive that it is impossible to prove that Agricola did not penetrate to the Dee, or that the territories of the Horestii did not extend to that river.

Turning southward, we shall notice some antiquities as we pass. Before leaving Fetteresso, we may mention, that Malcolm I. great-grandson of Kenneth M'Alpin, having defeated and slain Cellach, the rebellious Maormor of Moray, in a subsequent year, the Moravians

took arms to revenge his death: advancing into the Mearns, they were met by Malcolm, who was slain at Fetteresso, anno 953. According to the *Chron.* No. 5. of Innes, it was *per dolum*, by treachery.—*Maol-c olm*, signifies the devotee, or follower, of Columba. *Maor-mor*: *Maor*, in British, signifies a Governor; hence, perhaps, Mayor. *Maor*, in Gaelic, signifies a Steward, and anciently, among the Scots, was the same with Baron: *Maor-mor*, a Great Baron.

Duncan II. son and successor of Malcolm III. sur-named Caenmore, was assassinated by Maolpeder, the maormor of Mearns, at Monachedin, on the banks of the Bervie, anno 1095. In a field near the House of Mondynes, there still remains a large upright stone, eight feet above the ground, but without any carving or ornament, which is supposed to be the stone of Duncan, and to mark the spot where he was treacherously murdered, at a hunting party. Boece, Buchanan, &c. carry into Menteith the scene of this foul deed; but Chalmers has clearly shewn Monachedin to be Mondynes in the Mearns. *Cal.* vol. i. p. 424.—*Maol-peder*, signifies the Follower of Peter. There cannot be a stronger proof of the indeterminate nature of Celtic orthography, hitherto, than is afforded by the surname of the redoubted Malcolm III.* *Caenmore* is spelt, at least, six different ways, by different writers, and signifies Great Head. We may here remark, that this surname, and all the names of the kings and maormors of Scotland proper, being Gaelic during the eleventh century, it is natural to infer that this language was then spoken in the country.

* *Caen*, sometimes spelt *Can*, or *Kan*, Head, or Chief, is certainly akin to the Tartar Khan.

About a mile south-west from Fettercairn, and nearly half a mile west of Balmain, is situated a Pictish fort, commonly called the Green Cairn of Balbegno. It is of an oval figure, and is surrounded by two ramparts. The outer wall is built with large stones, without cement; and under the foundations have been discovered the ashes of burnt wood. Between the outer and inner rampart, the distance is 94 feet. The inner wall is 30 feet in thickness, and has all been subjected to the action of fire, for it is entirely vitrified. It encloses an area of 140 feet in length, by $67\frac{1}{2}$ on the east, and $52\frac{1}{2}$ at the west end. The elevation of the north side is still about 40 feet, and it is fully 60 on the south side, where the ground below is a morass. Maitland mistook this Pictish strength for a Roman work. *Hist. of Scotland*.—In the *Stat. Acco.* of Fettercairn, vol. v. p. 134, it is mentioned, that “tradition calls it Finella’s Castle; and the people believe it to have been her residence. After the murder of Kenneth, his attendants set fire to the building, and reduced it to ashes.”—This tradition is probably founded on the ridiculous fiction of Boece, concerning the manner of the death of this monarch; yet there is no reason to doubt that he was treacherously murdered near Fettercairn, by the orders of Finella.

Kenneth III. son of Malcolm I. on the death of Culen, A. D. 970, succeeded to the Scottish crown, and reigned 24 years. He was able, active, and unprincipled. He gave the Danes a total overthrow at Luncarty. He had the address, it is said, to persuade his nobles to concur with him, in changing the order of succession to the throne in favour of his son, afterwards Malcolm II.; and to the prejudice of Malcolm, the son of Duff, whose

death he procured soon after this settlement, causing him to be taken off by poison. All this may be true; but the fact is, that both Constantine IV. and Kenneth IV. held the Scottish sceptre before Malcolm II. In a succeeding year, he suppressed an insurrection in the Mearns, and put to death the only son of Finella, the lady of the maormor of the Mearns, and the daughter of Cunnechat, the maormor of Angus.—*Chron.* No. 5, in Innes. The son of Finella is called Crathilinthus, by Buchanan; and he is said to have richly merited his fate: nevertheless, the revenge of Finella was implacable. Kenneth, as he advanced in years, became superstitious: he gave Brechin to the church; and, being tormented with a guilty conscience, on account of the death of Malcolm, the son of Duff, he visited the tombs of the saints. When on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St Palladius, at Fordoun, he is said to have been induced to lodge a night in the castle of Finella, at Fettercairn, where he was traitorously slain. The story told by Boece is, that Finella led the king to a secret chamber, to shew him a brazen statue of curious workmanship, which was so ingeniously constructed, that, on pulling a slender cord, it discharged a flight of arrows, and killed his majesty on the spot. This fable is repeated by Major; but discredited by Buchanan, who sensibly remarks, “Neither can I readily persuade myself, that there were as many precious stones in all Scotland, as what Boethius bestows on that woman alone.” It is not to be supposed, that so politic a prince as Kenneth III. would allow himself to be inveigled into a castle by Finella, after he had put to death her only son. Buchanan agrees with Winton, who says, the king was slain by some horsemen placed in ambush

by Finelia. The large *tumulus*, from which Fettercairn derives its name, is supposed to mark the spot where the deed was perpetrated, and where, it is likely, Kenneth was buried; for there is no account of his body being conveyed to Hyona. The name of this traitress has never been forgotten in the Mearns. Besides the ruins we have described, called Finella's Castle by the common people, there is a hilly ridge, part of the lower Grampians, stretching westward from Fordoun and Auchenblae, called Finella Hill, or Strath Finella Hill; and many suppose that the neighbouring castle of Kincardine was also her residence. *Stat. Acco.* vol. iv. p. 498-9.—After the murder she fled, and is said to have concealed herself for some time in the deep recesses of a woody dell, still called Den-Finella, which is situated in the parish of Ecclesgreig, now St Cyrus. Her hiding place being at length discovered, she was conveyed from this retreat to suffer for her treason. Tighernac mentions the assassination of Kenneth. The *Annals of Ulster* and *Chron. Elegiacum* concur in the time, place, and circumstance, of this king's violent death, which happened A. D. 994.

At Kincardine, Baliol made submission to Edward I. July 2, 1296. Playfair's *Descr. of Scot.* vol. ii. p. 38. Tytler's *Hist. of Scot.* vol. i.

In the parish of Logie-Pert, in Forfarshire, there are several remarkable *tumuli*. About a mile west of the House of Craigo, are the three Laws of Logie; and on the border of Montrose parish, there is a fourth, called Leighton's Law: two of these *tumuli* have been opened; and in one was found a stone coffin, containing a human skeleton, mostly entire; the bones were of an extraordinary size, of a deep yellow colour, and very brittle:

in the other *tumulus*, there were found, about a foot from the surface, four human skeletons of gigantic proportions; and near to these was discovered a beautiful black ring, like ebony, of a fine polish, and in perfect preservation: this ring is 12 inches in circumference, and 4 in diameter, flat in the inside, and rounded without; and it would fit a large wrist. In the same *tumulus* there was found an urn, which was full of ashes. *Stat. Acco.* vol. ix. p. 51-2. In two sepulchral *tumuli*, near the manse of Dun, in the same neighbourhood, there were found several clay urns, with sculptures, and containing ashes and pieces of bones. *Stat. Acco.* vol. iii. p. 362. The skeletons of extraordinary size found at Logie-Pert, and in various parts of Scotland, some of them fully *seven feet long*, confirm the tradition, that of old there was a race of giants in this country. We need not think it strange that they were able successfully to resist the terrible northmen, many of whom are also supposed to have been of gigantic stature; nor need we marvel at the exploits of Fingal, and the other Ossianic heroes. If Galgacus had many such men under his command at the battle of *Mons Grampius*, whose stature was seven feet, and who had wrists four inches in diameter, the wonder is, that with their huge swords they did not hew the army of Agricola in pieces, and knock the large Roman shields to shivers. Angus was the country of the Picts proper; and these remains are in direct opposition to the vulgar tradition respecting the stature of the Picts. Throughout Scotland the vulgar account is, "That the *Pechs* were unco wee bodies, but terrible strang," that is, that they were of very small stature, but of prodigious strength. It is commonly added, "That the meal (oatmeal) was a

penny the peck, when they built the *Hie* Kirk of Glasgow ;” for the building of all the cathedrals, and in general every thing very ancient, is ascribed by the common people to the *Pechs*. It is rather odd, that this tradition regarding the small stature of the Picts should be uniform in every part of Scotland, and yet that it should rest on no foundation. They are said to have been about three or four feet in height ; but no skeletons of full grown persons, of that size, have been found in any of the cairns, or *tumuli*, which have been opened in Pictavia. Pinkerton takes no notice of this tradition, which ill accords with his notion of the irresistible prowess of the tremendous Goths.

Burning the dead, and urn sepulture, were practised by various tribes in the British islands before the introduction of Christianity. Indeed, they seem all to have burned their dead in very early times, though the manner of inhumation would doubtless be somewhat different among different tribes, and according to the rank of the deceased. The sepulchral remains of the earliest inhabitants of North Briton, consist of barrows, cairns, *cistvaens*, or stone-chests, stone-coffins, and urns ; also upright monumental stones, which were continued to a late period. The greatest number of the barrows and cairns are circular heaps, resembling a flat cone. Many are oblong ridges, like the hull of a ship, with its bottom upward. Some of them are composed of earth ; the most of them of stones ; many of them of a mixture of earth and stones, and a few of them of sand. The distinction between the barrow and the cairn, consists in this, that the first is composed only of earth, and the second of stones. In South Britain barrows are most common ; in North Britain cairns prevail ; and this is

probably owing to the country abounding in lapideous substances ; both of these, when they are of a round shape, and covered with green sward, are, in Scotland, called, by the vulgar, *hillocks*, and by the learned, *tumuli*. Much dispute has been about the derivation of *barrow*, and whether the word be Celtic or Gothic. *Bar*, in the different dialects of the Celtic, signifies a summit, an excrescence ; plural, *barau*. *Bera*, in British, signifies a pyramid, a heap ; and in Gaelic, *Borra* signifies a pile. *Stat. Acco.* vol. xiv. p. 257. Cairn signifies a heap. In the Gothic, *Byrig* is a burial place ; and in Old Saxon, *Beorg* is a little hill ; hence burg and burgh, towns being anciently placed on eminences. We incline to think that the word belongs to both languages ; derived from the former, it is written barrow, and from the latter, burrow.—In these *tumuli* are often found the arms of the warrior, with the horn of a deer, or the tooth of a horse ; sometimes beads, and rings of iron, or of brass, with other female ornaments which belonged to the British ladies. Upright monumental stones are often called by the country people *Cat stanes*, from the British *cad*, or the Gaelic *cath*,* a battle ; and near to these are commonly found fragments of arms. We may here notice the hatchets and heads of arrows made of flint, which are often found in barrows. The flint hatchets have occasioned much discussion among learned men ; but they appear to have had the name of *Celts*, from the nature of the material whereof they were made : *Celt*, in British, signifies a flint stone. The hatchets of the Britons were frequently made of brass ; and these seem to have been common among the Caledonians.

* Pronounced *Cat*.

The flint arrow heads are called *Elf-shots* by the vulgar, who have a notion that they are shot by elves, or fairies, at cattle; and many of the diseases to which bestial are subject were formerly imputed to *elf-shots*: to cure the animal, it was touched with the *elf-bolt*, and made to drink of the water wherein it had been dipped. We have met with aged people who believed in elves; but during the last century the fairy superstition lost ground rapidly; and, even by the ignorant, elves are no longer regarded, though they are often the subject of a winter evening's tale.

The round tower at Brechin now attracts our attention. It is similar to that at Abernethy, and both of them have been the subject of much antiquarian disquisition: though the dates of their erection be uncertain, they must both be very ancient, being indubitably fabrics of Pictish construction. The tower at Brechin is situated close to the church, and is 80 feet high, 8 feet diameter within the wall, and 48 in circumference. It has no stair, and only two windows, or loop-holes; but there are four in the roof, or octagonal spire, which is 23 feet high. That these round towers were belfries, is sufficiently evident, from the circumstance of their having windows or openings at the usual height, necessary to emit the sound of the bell. Separate belfries are not uncommon in many countries, and even in some parts of England, to this day; and must have been necessary for security, while the rude churches were constructed of wood. When the cathedral of Brechin was erected, in the twelfth century, the round tower would probably be preserved as a venerable relic, like the chapel of St Regulus, close by the cathedral of St Andrews. It is not

unlikely, that of old, there might have been also a round tower at Dunkeld, as at Abernethy and Brechin, while the square tower of St Regulus, at St Andrews, was built by an architect from the continent ; “ whence,” says Pinkerton, “ perhaps the very name and fable of St Regulus may have arisen.” At Auldbar, two miles south-west from Brechin, there is a curious chapel, situated in a romantic dell, and a singular monument, described by Pennant : here the bell was suspended on an ancient ash-tree, that grew on the top of the bank, overhanging the deep glen in which the chapel is placed, and where the sound would have been too much confined.—We shall now inquire into the probable date of the erection of the tower at Brechin. The southern Picts were converted to Christianity by Ninian, or, as he is called in Gaelic, Ringan, anno 412. Palladius is supposed to have made Fordun his residence in 430. The northern Picts were converted by Columba, anno 565. According to Bede, Ceolfrid, abbot of Wearmouth, wrote his famous letter about Easter and the Tonsure, to Naiton, or Nechton, or Nethan III. king of the Picts, anno 715 ; and, in that year, Nethan desired that masons, or architects, should be sent to him by the Angles from Northumberland, to build a church of stone. Bells were invented in 600, and during the seventh century, came into general use throughout the popedom, being deemed very efficacious, after consecration, in scaring evil spirits, who were believed to fly in terror from the hallowed sounds. It seems probable that the tower of Brechin would be built during the eighth century, and perhaps about 720 ; while the church remained a fabric of wood till about 990, or toward the end of the reign of Kenneth

III. The *Chron. Pict.* closes with telling us, *Hic est qui tribuit magnam civitatem Brechne Domino*, "He it was who gave the large town of Brechin to our Lord." This close clearly shews that Chronicle to have been written after Kenneth's time, and it is most likely, in the eleventh century. The notice is so far of moment, that it affords evidence of Brechin being then a place of consequence, and it probably was of considerable importance long before that period. Abernethy is supposed to have been founded about A. D. 600, by Nethan II.; and it was there that Nethan III. built the church of stone, 715; that place having then become the capital of the Pictish dominions; but it is a moot case among antiquaries, where the Pictish kings had their residence previously to the seventh century. Though we know of no direct proof which can be produced to establish the fact, we agree with those who think Brechin was the seat of government before it was removed southward to Abernethy, and that it continued to be the occasional residence of the Pictish sovereigns, till the end of the monarchy, anno 843. Angus was the country of the Picts proper, who also inhabited Mearns. Brechin is situated in the midst of this fertile region, and in the Pictish Chronicle, it is called a large town in 990. The round tower above described, shews the place to have been much regarded by the Pictish kings; and in the neighbourhood were the impregnable fortresses of the Cater Thuns. St Bridget, to whom the church of Abernethy was dedicated, came from Glen Esk, in the vicinage of Brechin. This saint, according to Usher, died in extreme old age, anno 520. It appears, that Brudi, the son of Meilochon, king of the Northern Picts, had a castle on the river Ness;

which was the place of his residence at the time he was visited by Columba, in 570. Adomnan, abbot of Hyona, or Iona, wrote the Life of Columba about 680 ; and he says the saint used to pass Drum Alban, in his way to the castle of Brudi, on the river Ness. The passage is somewhat obscure. Drum Alban, " the Ridge of Alban," called in Latin *Dorsi montes Britannici*, which divided the territories of the Scots and Picts, Pinkerton supposes to have been Braedalbin, and that the castle of Brudi was near to Inverness.* Father Innes thinks the Ridge of Alban means the Grampian mountains. The Pictishroyal residence at Brechin is believed to have been situated where Brechin castle now stands ; and the round tower, or belfry, of the ancient church, is supposed, by the reverend Mr Small, of Edenshead, to have been the mausoleum of the royal family. He is probably in the right, and, upon digging to the depth of a few feet, it is not unlikely that skeletons would be found. Brechin

* In the opinion of Pinkerton, the Life of Columba, written by Adomnan, is the most complete piece of biography of which Europe can boast through the whole of the middle ages, and it is certainly both a curious and an interesting work. There is much of prophecy and of miracle. Columba, at the court of Brudi, had many adventures with Broichan, a magician ; and the Picts, in that age, had glass drinking vessels, for the magician is described as using one. It is related as miraculous, that the saint, on his journey to the castle of Brudi, travelled a whole day wanting a linchpin to one of the wheels of his carriage, which yet did not come off. It was surely a miracle that he did not break his neck in crossing Drum Alban, in any vehicle with wheels, during the sixth century. Adomnan calls the Picts *gentiles barbari*, " barbarous pagans ;" and it is clear that they did not speak Gaelic ; for it is particularly mentioned, that Columba preached to them " by an interpreter," *per interpretatorem*. ADOMNAN, *Vita Columbæ*, lib. ii. ch. 12.

was formerly a walled town, and a bishop's see, and is now a considerable royal burgh, the seat of a presbytery. The bishopric was founded by David I. about 1150. No vestige remains of the castle that was so bravely defended against Edward I. by the gallant Sir Thomas Maule, who fell in the act of cheering his men to an obstinate resistance ; but, on its site, an elegant modern edifice, the residence of the Honourable W. R. Maule, of Panmure, stands on the brink of a perpendicular rock, overhanging the North Esk.

On the singular monument at the chapel of Auldbar, formerly mentioned, there are sculptured two persons, probably religious, in a sitting posture, and beneath them a man, seemingly tearing out a lion's tongue, perhaps intended to represent Samson rending the young lion "that roared against him ;" and opposite to him, there is a curious figure of an antique harp : under these are a man on horseback, a lamb, a bullock, and an animal that is supposed to resemble an ass.

At Aberlemno, situated half way between Brechin and Forfar, there are four sculptured upright stones, called the Danish stones, and which are believed to have been erected to commemorate a victory, obtained over the Danes by Malcolm II. in the early part of the eleventh century. There were formerly five of these obelisks, and in the vicinity are several *tumuli* and cairns. Some of these have been opened, wherein were found rude stone coffins, containing black earth and mouldering bones. *Stat. Acco.* vol. iv. p. 50. There was formerly a sixth obelisk on the north side of the South Esk, in the parish of Cariston, anciently called Carald-stane, and this obelisk was supposed to mark the spot where Carald, a Danish chief, fell ; and in the neighbourhood

are two remarkable barrows.—The Danes are supposed, after touching at the promontory of Red-head, to have landed at West Haven, near Panbride, and four miles north of the mouth of the Tay, where they were instantly attacked by the Scots at Carnoustie, which derives its name from the engagement, signifying “The cairns of the Host.”—“To this day,” says Buchanan, “when the wind raises the sand at Balbride, (Panbride,) many bones are uncovered, of larger dimensions than can well agree with the stature of men of these times.” The Danes were under the command of Camus, and Buchanan says, he landed his soldiers at the Red-head, and marched southward by the coast, plundering as he went along. This may have been the case, but the former account is more probable. There are no Scottish records prior to the demise of Malcolm Caenmore, or about 1100; and every thing is obscure relating to the invasions of the Northmen; only the traditions concerning their descents are borne out by the marks of blood and battle which attended their steps.—Camus was defeated by Malcolm II. at Carnoustie, and, being cut off from his ships, was obliged to retreat to the high ground near Monikie; and at the obelisk, called Camus’ Stone, or Camus’ Cross, this celebrated leader is supposed to have had his skull cleft with a battle-axe. “Near Camus’ Cross, the plough laid open a sepulchre, which was enclosed with four stones: here a huge skeleton was dug up, which was supposed to have been that of Camus: he appears to have received the mortal stroke upon the head, as a part of the skull was cut away.” This is the account of Commissary Maule, who relates what he saw about 1610. There is a farm in the neighbourhood, called Camuston, and another

Camuston Cross ; in the vicinage there is a ravine called Camuston Den.—Upon the death of Camus, the Danes are supposed to have retired in the direction of Kirkden, and to have taken refuge for the night in the Roman camp at Caerbuddo, thenceforth called by the country people Norway Dykes : * next day they were overtaken in the parish of Kirkden, and an obelisk with some rude figures carved upon it, indicates that another chief had fallen here, though tradition has not preserved his name. This monumental stone is to be seen from the public road, on a plain between the Finny and the Lunan ; and *Pitmuies* is supposed to derive its name from the graves of the slain. The Danes were again overtaken by Malcolm at Aberlemno, where they were entirely overthrown, and their broken forces are supposed to have fled by Cariston, and King's Ford, on the North Esk. Buchanan says, “ The rest, now reduced to a small number, under covert of night effected a retreat on board their ships, and by adverse winds were driven upon the coast of Buchan,” &c.—The most of these obelisks, however, are surely memorials of Scottish chiefs, and must have been erected by the Scots ; for it is not to be supposed that the routed Danes had time to raise, far less to carve, such stones ; besides, the Northmen were Pagans, and the cross is distinctly visible on some of these monuments. The Danes repeatedly tried to conquer Scotland ; but the natives of that country, ever ready to unsheathe their swords for sacred liberty, baffled every attempt of these formidable Northmen to obtain any permanent footing on the main-

* It is probable, that the Roman camp at Peter Culter, also had the name of Norman Dykes, from having been casually occupied by the Northmen.

land of Scotland proper.* The Vikingr, however, appear to have carried on a desultory warfare, landing for the sake of plunder, and sometimes for the mere love of fighting, as may be inferred from the *Epicedium* of Regnar Lodbrog. It is not easy to say what spoil they could find in a country so poor as Scotland must have been in the days of these marauders.

Three miles south-east of Forfar, is situated Dunnichen; and upon Dunnichen Hill, which rises 700 feet above the level of the sea, there is a hill fort, anciently called Dun Nechtan, the Castle of Nechtan, or Nectan, one of the Pictish monarchs, and the remains of this fort may still be seen. To the southward, there was a loch, which is now drained, that was long distinguished by the name of Nechtan's *Mere*. In this neighbourhood, Egfrid, King of the Angles of Northumbria, who had invaded Pictavia with a great army, was defeated and slain by Brudi the son of Bili, King of the Picts, anno 685. The field of this battle is marked by several *tumuli* and cairns, some of which, on being opened, were found to contain human bones in rough stone coffins. The nearest eminence is called Dun Barrow. Bede, the Saxon Chr., Simeon of Durham, Tighernac, the Ulster Annals, all mention this great battle.

In 724, a civil war began among the Picts. In 727, Ungus, or Hungus, defeated Elpin, at Moncrib, in Strathearn. In 728, Hungus defeated Nechtan, at Moncur,† in the Carse of Gowrie. In 730, Elpin was

* They did establish themselves in Caithness and Sutherland, but soon became subject to the Scottish king. They, in like manner, held portions of the West Highlands.

† In the *Annals of Ulster*, we find at anno 728, *Bellum Monacurnæ, juxta stagnum Logæ, inter hostem Nechtain, et exercitum*

defeated and slain by Hungus at Pit-Elpie, in the parish of Liff, and two miles north-west from Dundee ; after which, Hungus reigned triumphant over every competitor for the throne. He appears to have been the ablest and the most powerful of all the Pictish kings. He died in 761.—The death of the Pictish Elpin, who

Angusæ, &c. “ Battle of Moncur, near the Loch of Logie, between the host of Nechtan, and the army of Hungus,” &c. It appears from this, that in the eighth century, Moncur was situated near a lake, called the *Loch of Logie*.—The *Annals of Ulster*, are the most valuable and authentic of the Irish chronicles, and the dates of events are found to be pretty accurate, from the eclipses they mention. In ancient matters, as is evident from repeated quotations, they follow Tighernac, the oldest Irish historian, and who wrote about 1088. A MS. of a portion of these Annals is preserved in the British Museum, from 431 to 1303 ; but they were not completed till 1541. It is probable, that the Loch of Logie existed when Tighernac wrote, toward the end of the eleventh century ; and it is likely, it remained to a much later period ; yet it would be rash to conclude, from this notice, that it continued a lake in 1541, when the Annals were closed. There is a Logie, upon the coast of Fife, east of the castle of Balmbrich, and 5 miles south of the castle of Moncur, which is now a ruin. It may still be seen, within the park of Rossie Priory, near the west gate. There is another Logie, the seat of Major Fyffe, half a mile north of the west end of Dundee, and east of Dudhope Castle. The parish of Logie is now united to Dundee, but the ancient cemetery of the parish continues a place of sepulture, and is situated about a quarter of a mile north of the gate of Logie. This is six or seven miles distant from the castle of Moncur ; yet we incline to think the Loch of Logie, mentioned in the *Ulster Annals*, refers to this place ; and Loch-ee, a village immediately to the northward, seems to have been the end or issue of the lake. We took notice of the physical changes, in this quarter, when speaking of the Roman camp at Cater Milley, half a mile north of Invergowrie House (page 48) ; and we will have more to say upon the subject, when we treat of the Carse of Gowrie.

fell near to Camperdown House, at a place called *Pit-Elpie*, the grave of Elpin, has been confounded by Boece with that of the Scottish Alpin, the father of Kenneth II.; and he has been followed by Buchanan and others, in the fictions he relates concerning the death of Alpin at Pit-Elpie, which he says was called Bas Alpin, that is, the fall of Alpin; of the head of the Scottish monarch being stuck up at Abernethy, &c. Of the latter, the Register of St Andrews says,—*Hic occisus est in Gallewathia, postquam eam penitus destruxit et devastavit*,—"He was slain in Galloway, after he had ravaged and totally destroyed that country." Innes, *App.* p. 798. The Chronicon of Dunblane says,—*Occisus est in Galwithia, postquam eam penitus devastavit*.—"He was slain in Galloway, after he had ravaged the whole country." Innes, *MS. Collections*. The foundation charter of the town of Ayr, by William, in 1197, when describing the limits of its exclusive trade, mentions *Lacht Alpin*, the Stone of Alpin, as one of the distinguishing boundaries; so that the grave-stone of Alpin was known and recognized 350 years after his death. This stone is still to be seen in the parish of Dalmellington, in Ayrshire, on the borders of Carrick, which of old was reckoned part of Galloway. An ancient castle took its name from this stone, *Laicht Castle*; there are still two farms called *Over* and *Nether Laicht*; and in the vicinity are many *tumuli* and cairns. Winton says of Alpin the father of Kenneth:—

"He wan of ware all Galloway;
There was he slayne, and dede away,
Aught hundyr winter fourty and thre,
Aftyr the blyst nativitie."

Winton mistakes the year; for it was in 836 that Alpin fell, and Kenneth mounted the Pictish throne in 843. Fordun mentions the death of Alpin, but does not say where it happened; nor does Major say where he was buried.

Forfar, the county town of Angus, is a place of considerable antiquity. In the castle, which was long ago demolished, Malcolm Caenmore held an assembly of his Maormors, or Great Barons, anno 1057, after Macbeth was defeated and slain. This assembly is most absurdly termed a *parliament* by our historians. The castle of Forfar is said to have been a favourite residence of Queen Margaret, when Malcolm was engaged in distant expeditions. In the valuable Panmure Collection of MSS., Pinkerton relates, that he found, at the end of the *Extracta e Chronicis Scotiæ*, notes written about 1560, by Henry Sinclair, Dean of Glasgow, containing remarks on different Scottish antiquities. The Dean says he was present when an ancient door-case, supposed to have belonged to the castle of Malcolm Caenmore, was taken out of the lake of Forfar. "It was as perfect as at the first erection, having become pure black oak, such as is found in our peat muirs." The vessels discovered in this loch, and which are preserved in the castle of Glamis, are of copper or brass; there is a jug like a coffee-pot, perhaps for hippocras, or spiced wine; and there are two boiling-kettles, one of which is very wide and flat, and probably intended to answer the purpose of a modern fish-kettle. It is probable that these vessels likewise belonged to the castle of Queen Margaret. Pennant imagines that they had been carried off from the castle of Glamis, by the conspirators who are said to have murdered Malcolm II.

But we agree with Pinkerton, in thinking, that, among a thousand paths, it is not to be supposed that the traitors would escape by crossing the loch of Forfar, at the distance of four miles; or that the assassins of a monarch would have thought of carrying off his kitchen utensils. About a mile and a half to the eastward of Forfar, was situated the priory of Restennet, built on an isle, in a loch of about 200 acres, which has been some time drained for the sake of marl. The steeple is still standing. This priory belonged to the abbey of Jedburgh, and was the repository of charters and other valuable papers, which it was deemed prudent to deposit in a place far removed from Border broil.

Upon an eminence, little more than half a mile north-east from Forfar, there has lately been discovered an oblong rectangular Roman camp, similar to that at Battle Dykes. It has the same breadth; but it is considerably longer. It appears to have had six gates, and four or five are still visible. The traverses are straight. Several modern roads cross this camp, and some of them have ingress and egress by the gates. Upon the inside of the south intrenchment, which is one of the two longest sides, and close to the south principal gate, there has been a square fort; and near the north side of the redoubt the *prætorium* has stood. The west side being now the front of the camp, this indicates that the army which raised these ramparts was marching westward.—It is probable that Agricola, on returning with that division of his forces which, we suppose, lay some time at Kethick, occupied with his whole army this camp at Forfar. As the intrenchments would contain more than 26,000 men, the Roman commander may have enlarged the dimensions, for the

sake of more accommodation; there being then no chance of his ramparts being assaulted by an enemy. Or this camp might have been re-occupied by Urbicus, or by Severus, either of whom might enlarge the intrenchments: but it is clear that they had been formed upon the Polybian system.

On Lower Muir, and near to Caerbuddo, commonly written Kirkbuddo, is situated the Roman camp called Haerfaulds, and also Norway Dykes, formerly noticed. This camp is 5 miles south-east of that at Forfar, which has just been described, and 7 miles in the same direction from Battle Dykes; and they are connected by a Roman military way.—The camp at Haerfaulds is the most entire of the Roman temporary camps which have hitherto been discovered; as all the six gates exist. It is more narrow, and somewhat longer, than the usual proportion of the small camps, the mean length being 2280 feet by 1080. Contiguous to the south-east angle there is a *procestrium*, or enclosure, which is situated on the highest ground, whence all the rest of the camp is seen; and perhaps it might serve as a *prætorium*. Its gate is covered with a straight traverse, like those of the camp. The east side, with a small portion of the adjoining rampart of the camp, is ploughed down. Upon the west intrenchment, which is one of the two longest sides of the camp, there is a small pond between the south-west corner and the Quintane Gate, supposing the general's tent to have been in the *procestrium*. This camp is somewhat less than the small camp at Ardoch, and would hold about 10,000 men, upon the Polybian system.—The area is nearly the same with that at Camp-Muir, near Lintrose; hence, as formerly mentioned, General Roy conjectures

that the number of men sent by Agricola on board his fleet amounted to between three and four thousand ; and he is likely to be right, as his calculations are founded upon correct measurements. We agree with him in thinking it probable that Agricola, on his return from Horestia, divided his army into two bodies, one of which marched by Strathmore, halting at Camp-Muir ; while the other division marched by Haerfaulds, Cater Milley, and the Braes of the Carse ; and when the army again united at Grassy Walls, he might, perhaps, found Orea, at the confluence of the Amon and the Tay.

We shall here notice the subterraneous buildings which have been found in various parts of this quarter of the country. About 40 years ago, in the parish of Tealing, and on the farm of Prieston, near the Glamis road, several apartments were discovered a few feet from the surface. They are constructed of large flat stones, without cement ; are 5 feet wide ; and the roof, which is covered with flags, is only 5 feet high. In these apartments were found some wood ashes, fragments of large earthen vessels, and one of the ancient hand-mills, called querns. A little to the west of Tealing House, there has been discovered a similar building, or rather a subterraneous passage, formed of large stones, only four feet in height, and of the same breadth. There were found in it a broad earthen vessel, and an instrument resembling an adze. These subterraneous buildings are called by the country people *Weems*, probably from the Gaelic *Wamb*, a cave. Hence the English and Scots word. Immediately to the westward, on the farm of Balkemback, are the remains of a Druidical temple.—*Stat. Acc.* vol. iv. p. 101. In the parish of Liff, in a field near Camperdown House, was

discovered a subterraneous building, consisting of several apartments, rudely constructed of rough stones: the largest room was 12 feet by 6, and 5 in height. There were found in this structure the remains of some burnt matter, the fragments of small bones, and some querns, about 14 inches in diameter, with the remnant of an *iron* handle, and the appearances indicated that they had been much worn.—*Stat. Acc.* vol. xiii. p. 117-119. In the parish of Auchterhouse have been found, two subterraneous buildings, also called *Weems*, and which likewise contained ashes, bones, querns, and a brass ring without any inscription.—*Stat. Acc.* vol. xiv. p. 526. In the lands of Balgay, near Dundee, similar buildings have been found under ground.—*Stat. Acc.* vol. xiii. p. 207. Subterraneous buildings, of the same description, have also been found in Alyth parish.—*Stat. Acc.* vol. vi. p. 406. In Bendochy parish, there have been discovered similar structures, of a larger size, with rafters of wood, which were covered with earth.—*Stat. Acc.* vol. xix. p. 359. Upon the first discovery of these buildings, different opinions were entertained by antiquaries regarding the purposes for which they had been constructed: that at Camperdown was supposed to have been a Roman granary; and Pinkerton was of this opinion. Chalmers thinks they were *hiding-holes*, formed by the most ancient inhabitants, for concealing both their persons and property, during seasons of danger. From the utensils commonly found in them, we suppose these buildings were the winter habitations of the rude natives. In all cold countries, barbarous inhabitants resort to subterraneous dwellings for protection from the cold of winter. The only thing wondrous about them is, the roof being only 4 or 5

feet high in all these buildings: this circumstance, however, seems to have given rise to the vulgar tradition throughout Scotland, respecting the diminutive stature of the *Pechs*. Subterraneous houses, such as we have described, were probably discovered in former ages, and it would naturally be concluded, that the people who inhabited them would be able to stand upright on their own floors. As to the prodigious strength ascribed to the *Pechs*, it might be inferred from the large stones set upright, and the immense masses of rock, that must have been conveyed from considerable distances. No skeletons of full grown persons, of the height of 4 or 5 feet, having been discovered, we are led to the conclusion, that the barbarous natives occupied their subterraneous dwellings only in a sitting, or recumbent posture; but it must be acknowledged, that the dimensions of these buildings do not correspond with our ideas of the accommodation necessary for people of gigantic proportions. Subterraneous structures of this description have been found in Ireland, and in Cornwall, and indeed throughout the British islands. Several, of a construction somewhat different, and even of a smaller size, have been long known in the Hebudes.—Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 154. Pennant's *Tour*, vol. iii. p. 223-4. In Sanday, one of the Orkney Isles, there are several barrows, and on one of them being opened, it was found to contain a building 9 feet in diameter, round on the outside, but square and hollow within, with a well in the floor; in the upper part of the building, there was found a human skeleton in an upright posture, but, from the circumstance of the well, this building would seem to have been intended for some other purpose than that of sepulture.—*Stat. Acc.* vol.

vii. p. 489. Subterraneous structures have been found in Shapinshay, another of the Orkney Isles, and in one of them was found a ring of gold, of curious workmanship.—*Stat. Acc.* vol. xvii. p. 237-8. In Sutherland, and in Ross-shire, in the muir of Kildrummie, and various other parts of Aberdeenshire, similar structures have been found.—*Ib.* and Cordiner's *Antiq.* p. 15. In the parish of Alvie, in Inverness-shire, a subterraneous building has been discovered 60 feet long. Similar structures have been found in different parts of the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, &c.—*Stat. Accounts.* The Reverend Mr Small of Edenshead, in his Roman Antiquities, has noticed fabrics of the same description at two different places in Fife, at Orphit, below the north-west end of the Lomonds, where the houses seem to have been laid open but lately, and at Lundin, near Largo, discovered a good many years ago. The learned gentleman appears to have mistaken these buildings for Roman works; but, as we formerly observed, the Romans did not burrow in the ground, and though we have not yet had an opportunity of examining these fabrics, from his description we cannot doubt of their having been the rude habitations of the natives.

At Rescobie, three miles east from Forfar, King Donald Bane, the brother of Malcolm Caenmore, died in confinement, anno 1097. After being defeated and taken prisoner, his eyes were put out by the orders of his nephew King Edgar, according to the cruel policy of a barbarous age.—*Chron.* No. 5, in Innes, p. 803. The *Chronicon Elegiacum* says,—

*Captus ab Edgardo, vita privatus ; at ille
Roscolpin obiit, ossaque Iona tenet.*

“ Being taken prisoner by Edgar, he was reduced to a private condition ; but he died at Rescobie, and Iona contains his bones.” If *privatus* be a participle, then Edgar, by this account, put his uncle to death ; but this does not seem to be implied in the second line.— The castle of Rescobie has been long demolished.

Three miles north-west from Forfar, there is a large upright monumental stone, called *the standing stane* of Ballenshoe, and beside it there is a *tumulus* : concerning these tradition is silent.

The stately castle of Glamis now presents itself to our view. Part of the building is of great antiquity, and originally consisted of two rectangular oblong towers, connected by a square projection, in such form, as to afford mutual defences to the different parts of the structure. The walls of the towers are 15 feet in thickness. Of the alterations and additions made in times comparatively modern, some account will be given in the subsequent part of this work. The castle of Glamis was the residence of Malcolm II. at the time of his death ; and the bed is still preserved in which he expired, or, according to our historians, was murdered. It is made of oak, and is low set, but the canopy is lofty, and the whole has a royal appearance : this bed has been carefully preserved by the Strathmore family, as a precious relic.—Malcolm II. Duncan, and Macbeth, stand upon the threshold of Scottish history. The accounts of their reigns are obscure, and their actions mixed with fable. For the fictions concerning these personages, we have mainly to thank Boece ; they were adopted by Holinshed and Buchanan ; and from Holinshed, it is probable, that immortal Shakespeare was furnished with materials for his magic pen, in the production of perhaps

his best tragedy, and the first drama in the world. The commentators on Shakespeare, and even our late popular writers, repeat the fables of Boece, without taking the trouble "to go to the ancient fountains," *antiquos accedere fontes*, and to sift the chronicles that contain the only information upon which the historian can rely. The transactions of this eventful period are in themselves sufficiently interesting, and require not the adventitious aid of fiction to give them importance. The dawn of history has peculiar charms for the antiquary, when

—— A faint erroneous ray,
Glanced from th' imperfect surfaces of things,
Flings half an image on the straining eye.

We shall endeavour to state, as succinctly as possible, the result of our inquiries respecting Malcolm II., Duncan, and Macbeth, the scenes of important incidents relating to these kings being in this quarter of the country.

Malcolm II. son of Kenneth III. mounted the throne, anno 1003. Pinkerton questions whether this king had any wars with the Danes. It is true Fordun mentions only one battle against the Norwegians during his reign; and Winton and Major say nothing of these wars; but the accounts of other historians are borne out by universal popular tradition, names of places, cairns, and barrows on the reputed battle-fields; besides monumental stones and obelisks, erected in commemoration of notable events; pits full of human skulls, found in the vicinity, and skulls built into the walls of churches. The *Reg. of St And.*, and *Chron.* No. 4, in Innes, style Malcolm *miles victoriosissimus*, "a most victorious soldier;" and though this king had other wars, both foreign and domestic, the *victoriosissimus*, in our opinion,

can only refer to his great victories over the Danes. We may here observe, that the M'Alpin laws, as they are called, or the laws said to have been made by Kenneth M'Alpin, are a fiction. The *Leges Malcolmi*, that is, the laws of Malcolm, ascribed to this king, have been proven by Lord Hailes, and other able writers, to be a forgery. The story of the division of all the lands in Scotland during this reign, on the Moot-hill of Scone, is absurd. In these days the king was only lord of his own estate; the maormors held their property as absolutely as he did. They owed obedience to the king during war; but, if he had promulgated laws to regulate their conduct in time of peace, his laws would have been disregarded.—See Hailes, Pinkerton, Chalmers, &c. Malcolm died anno 1033. Fordun, in the year 1385, says, Malcolm was killed at, or near, the town of Glamis. Boece, in 1526, knew all about it. Buchanan, in 1577, says, “The king's domestics being corrupted, a few conspirators were admitted into his apartment by night, and put him to death. When the crime was perpetrated, the servants, together with the parricides, mounted their horses, which were standing ready saddled; but, getting bewildered among the snow, that had fallen so deeply as to cover every tract of the road, they arrived at a loch, in the neighbourhood of Forfar, which, endeavouring to pass, the ice, not being capable of sustaining the weight, sunk beneath them, and they were all drowned. The lake then freezing over them, concealed their bodies for a time, till, upon the thaw, they were discovered, and, being dragged out, were hung up on gibbets by the way side, as an example to the living, and a mark of infamy upon the dead.” Pennant not only believes this story, but supposes that the assassins carried off with them the

pots and pans of the monarch's kitchen. Buchanan goes on, — " This is the more current account of Malcolm's end. Some relate, that he fell into an ambush, laid for him by the adherents of the former kings, Grim and Constantine, and was slain, after a bloody engagement. Others, that he was killed by the relations of a noble virgin whom he had deflowered ; but all agree that he perished by a violent death." From this we conclude, that Buchanan had not examined the ancient chronicles, or his good sense might perhaps have led him to reject all these accounts of Malcolm's death. Principal Playfair is content with the popular tradition, " In his way down the Hunter-hill, and near the site of the present manse, he was wounded by a band of assassins, who fled with precipitation, and were drowned in the lake of Forfar, at each of which spots, a stone, adorned with emblematical figures, is erected, to perpetuate the memory of the murder." *Desc. of Scot.* vol. i. p. 433. Let us now turn to the *Reg. of St And.* and the *Chron. Elegiacum*, as preserved in the original of the *Chronicle of Melrose*, in the Cotton Library. The *Reg. of St And.* was written about 1140, or little more than 100 years after the death of Malcolm II. ; of him it says, *Mortuus in Glammis*, " He died at Glammis." Now, the *Reg. of St And.* carefully marks *interfectus*, if a king was slain ; and no fewer than six kings before Malcolm II. and three after him, are thus marked. We may therefore conclude, that if Malcolm met with any unfair play at his exit, it was unknown to the scribes at St Andrews. According to the *Chronicon Elegiacum*,

*In vico Glammis, rapuit mors libera regem ;
Sub pede prostratis hostibus, ipse perit.*

“ The king was carried off suddenly, by a natural death, in the town of Glamis; he died, after having put his foot on the necks of all his enemies.” Literally thus: “ In the town of Glamis, free death snatched the king; he died, his enemies being prostrate under his feet.” The *mors libera* cannot imply a violent death: the last line evidently refers to his former victories, *miles victoriosissimus*. “ Free death,” seems to be what is called in Scotland by the common people, fair death; and “ *fair strae death*,” by Burns. It is true “ *ipse perit*,” in the last line, may be translated, he perished, or he was killed; but *perire* also signifies to die by the course of nature. The *Chron. Eleg.* adds, “ *Obiit Malcolmus Rex Scottorum*,” which conveys no idea of assassination. The vulgar tradition seems to be derived from the fables of Boece and Buchanan; and we concur with Pinkerton and Chalmers in thinking, that the story of the assassination of Malcolm has no foundation. Chalmers says, “ Malcolm was entombed with his fathers in Iona.” This island did not then belong to Scotland. It was either possessed, or perpetually pillaged by the Danes. Malcolm had given the Vikingr many a signal overthrow; and it is likely the pagans would have thrown his carcass into the sea, if it had been carried thither. The burying of our kings in Hyona appears to be a fable, invented by the monks of St Andrews, in the 12th century. There is to be seen, in the churchyard of Glamis, a rude mass, without an inscription, 16 feet high, and 5 feet broad, which, according to tradition, is “ King Malcolm’s Grave Stone;” and there is every probability that he was buried under it.

Duncan, the grandson of Malcolm II. by his daughter Beatrice, or Bethoc, succeeded to the throne, anno 1033.

He was the “gracious Duncan” of Shakespeare. In a civil commotion, Malcolm II. defeated and slew Finlegh, son of Rederic, or Rory, maormor of Ross, and the father of Macbeth. In the *Ulster An.*, Finlegh is called King of Scotland; and this mistake seems to have arisen from the Irish terms for a king, *Righ*, *Triath*, *Flath*, signifying also a lord, or chief; and the Irish chiefs were all petty kings. At 1020 in these Annals, we find, *Finloec MacRuari, Ri Alban, a suis occisus*, “Finlegh M’Rory, King of Scotland, was slain in domestic broil;” literally, “by his countrymen.” Malcolm’s reign had been vigorous, for, toward the end of it, in 1032, he burnt the *Rath*, or Castle of Maolbride, maormor of Moray, that chief perishing in the flames, with 50 of his clan.—*Ulst. Ann.* Malcolm died the following year, leaving no son. He had two daughters. Bethoc, or Beatrice, was married to Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, by whom she had Duncan. The *Reg. of St And.* calls this prince, *Doncath MacCrini, abbatis dz Dunkeld*, “Duncan MacCrinan, abbot of Dunkeld.” The *Chronicon Elegiacum* says,—

*Abbatis Crini, jam dicti filia Regis,
Uxor erat, Bethoc nomine, &c.*

“Now, the daughter of the said king, by name Bethoc, was the wife of Crinan, an abbot.” And again, the *Chron. Eleg.* says of Malcolm’s daughter,—

*Quæ erat uxor abbatis Duncaneli, Crini; et
Ex illa genuit Duncanum nomine natum,
Qui sex annis Rex erat Albanix.*

“Who was the wife of Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld; and of her was born a son, by name Duncan, who was king of Scotland six years.”

The celibacy of churchmen was introduced only toward the end of the 11th century. Till the decree of Pope Gregory VII. all the clergy might marry, or have *concubines* ;* even till the Council of Rheims, in 1148, monks might marry ; the clergy made a gallant stand, and another century elapsed before their opposition to this decree was effectually overcome. It is not to be supposed that Malcolm would give his daughter in marriage unworthily. The clergy possessed all the learning of the times, and Crinan might be the king's minister. The church now getting rich, its great benefices were sought after by men of the highest rank ; and sons and brothers of kings were bishops and abbots. Some abbacies were superior to bishoprics in wealth ; and mitred abbots were equal to bishops in dignity, while both took precedence of the nobility ; for the old charters run, *Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, &c.* " with bishops, abbots, earls, &c." According to Du Cange, *Abba-Comites*, were both abbots and earls ; and were always laymen. In Germany, during the 10th century, the Emperor Otho made even dukes and counts vassals to the bishops and abbots. Alfred the Great was the son of Ethelwulf, who was a priest before he was crowned ; and Alfred himself was bred to the church, a circumstance to which he owed that learning which does so much honour to his character. Fordun, being probably ignorant of these things, and affronted perhaps to find our kings sprung from an abbot, created a new dignity for Crinan. He calls him, *Crynyn, abthanus de Dul, ac insularum senescallus* : " Crynyn, abthane of

* Mosheim.

Dul, and steward of the isles.” But Dul was only a village, and could not give a title, which was in that age territorial; and the isles were not then subject to Scotland. As for thane, or abthane, it is not likely that the names were even known in Scotland till the reign of Malcolm Caenmore. They first appear in the charters of David I., who mounted the throne, 1124.

The titles of thane and abthane are Saxon, and originally designated land-stewards, or bailiffs; the thane being the king's steward, and the abthane the abbot's, when the king reserved to himself certain rights in granting lands to the abbot. They were never officers of state who attended the person of the king, as is clear from their names not being adhibited as witnesses to royal charters. They never belonged to the households of bishops, abbots, maormors, or earls. In process of time, the office of thane became, in some cases, hereditary; and, ultimately, we find them small landed proprietors: William, thane of Calder, and John, thane of Brody, appear conspicuous among other respectable men in 1492.—Shaw's *Moray*, p. 113–394, MS. Harl. No. 4620. What is above stated respecting the office of thane, is borne out by our Cartularies, and other authorities, of which we shall only produce one. It is from a curious paper in the possession of the Viscount Arbuthnot; being an account of the decision of a national synod held at Perth, “Upon the third of the ides of April, in the year of Christ, 1206, anent that portion of the lands of Arbuthnot, called Kirktown, which the bishop of St Andrews maintained did belong to the church of St Andrews, and of which Duncan of Arbuthnot had robbed that church, without regard to law or order,” &c. From the decision of the synod

we find, that the people who dwelt on these lands were *ascripti glebæ*, “annexed to the soil,” and, along with the lands in dispute, were adjudged to be the property of the bishop. From the deposition of Isaac Benewin, we learn, that “when Osbert (of Arbuthnot) took the Jerusalem cross for the Holy Land,” there were, upon the Kirktown, eight tenants, who were called *Goodmen*, besides sub-tenants. A horse, in those days, was of the value of five merks; for Osbert offered Bishop Hugh a horse worth five merks, if he would remove a cripple from the grounds. To the honour of the bishop, he not only refused the horse, but would not consent, on any consideration, to remove the cripple. Osbert received nothing out of these lands but the moiety of *Bloodwitts*, and of the *Merchita Mulierum*, (the *Merchet* of women;) the other moiety was paid to the bishop. The rents and fines were all paid in the rude produce of the soil. “Isaac, the clerk, being sworn, depones, That he was sent for the bishops of Caithness, Moray, and Ross, to assist at the consecration of Bishop Richard, and that he lodged on his way with Helias, priest of Aberbuthnot, and in the time of that Duncan saw very many houses upon that ground, which, as was told him, pertained to the bishop of St Andrews, and was likewise confirmed, *that no thane before him did ever put plough in these lands*. That when the deponent came to visit Walter Scott, lying at the point of death, thinking to find out the truth from a person of known integrity, and well versed in all such affairs, he conjured him, by the salvation of his soul, to tell him what, in conscience, he believed to be the truth in this affair,—whose answer was, that he very much admired how Duncan could appropriate the bishop’s land to himself,

and to claim jurisdiction therein, *since, in the time of eight thanes and more*, he had known the bishops of St Andrews enjoy these lands as their property. He, in like manner, declared, that he had seen several bishops at several times lodged there ; that he had been at entertainments with them on the spot, and sent them compliments and refreshments from his house ; and since he saw death approaching, he caused write down these things and seal them before his wife, which he desired might be looked on as his death evidence." Felix being sworn, says, " That in his father's time he has seen the bishops of happy memory, Arnold and Richard, frequently lodged in the Kirktown of Aberbuthnot, as in their own lands, and that in his father's house, who was the bishop's tenant ; and that he and the other inhabitants furnished all that came to their share, for the bishop's service and accommodation : That he has seen the bishop's officials, and others belonging to him, both clergymen and laiks, in their journeyings, lodged there as in the bishop's own demesnes. Says, *that he has known thirteen thanes to have had these lands* ; and that he never perceived any uneasiness given to the inhabitants, till the time of Isaac ; and that the bishops of St Andrews peaceably enjoyed these lands, paying the usual tribute to the thane, until the time of Isaac Benewin, who first began to vex them ; after him Hugh Bane, and the present Duncan, removed the bishop's tenants from it ; and finally, *that no thane ever laboured these lands* without the bishop's licence, unless this Duncan." This Isaac Benewin, the thane and witness above mentioned, depones, " That in the time of Bishop Hugh and Osbert Olifard, (Osbert of Arbuthnot, formerly mentioned,) he farmed the king's revenue, due

out of the lands of Kirktown, from the said Osbert, as possessor thereof," &c. This adjudication took place two years before the death of William the Lion. The curious paper from which these extracts are taken, is said to have been translated from the original Latin, in the possession of Lord Arbuthnot, about 1700, by a Mr Clerk, schoolmaster at Bervie. It was printed by Pinkerton in the beginning of the 1st vol. of his *Inquiry into the Hist. of Scot. preceding the reign of Malcolm III.* Upon the subject of thanes, see also his 2d vol. and Chalmers, in his *Caled.* vol. i. Nothing, therefore, can be more absurd than what is related by Fordun concerning the dignity of Crinan; and even Buchanan seems to have been misled by him, as Pinkerton observes, for the honour of Scotland. As for the stories of Boece and Holinshed about thanedoms and thanages, they are fictions unworthy of notice. We were not a little surprised, however, to find thanes called "Governors of provinces," in the deservedly popular "Tales of a Grandfather," vol. i. *Story of Macbeth.* It is but fair to add, that in the first volume of the *History of Scotland*, by Sir Walter Scott, the maormors are acknowledged as the great barons of Scotland.

Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, was the progenitor of a race of kings, who held the Scottish sceptre down to the accession of Baliol; and who derived their title to the crown from Bethoc, daughter of Malcolm II.

The other daughter of Malcolm was married to Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, a personage little inferior in importance to a king of Scotland in those days. *Snorro Sturleson*, tom. i. p. 532-3; *Orkney-inga Saga*, p. 5, 87; *Torfæus Orcades*, p. 33. By Sigurd, she had five sons, of whom four, Sumerlid, Einar, Brusi, and Thorfin,

became successively Earls of Orkney. Sigurd fell in the famous battle of Clontarf, near Dublin, 1014, fighting against the renowned Brian Borowe, or Boromhe, king of Ireland; an event which gave rise to the celebrated Icelandic poem, so finely translated by Gray, and entitled the Fatal Sisters. Upon the death of Sigurd, Malcolm gave his grandson Thorfin investiture of Caithness and Sutherland, and appointed counsellors to assist him in the government, Thorfin being at the time only five years of age; but, when he grew up to manhood, this Thorfin became an audacious Vikingr, and refused the accustomed homage for Orkney to the king of Norway, and for Caithness and Sutherland to Duncan, king of Scotland. He died 1064. *Torf.* p. 45; *Ork. Saga*, p. 5-29.

During the reign of Duncan, there was no rebellion of Macdual of Lochaber, as related by Buchanan; or of Macdonald of the Isles, as mentioned by Shakespeare; though our old historians may possibly have confounded the rebellion of Gilcomgain, maormor of Moray, in 1033, with a rebellion of Macdual, or Macdonald; nor is there any evidence of Sueno, king of Norway, invading Fife. Holinshed and Shakespeare appear to have been misled by the Scottish writers, regarding such events. By the latter, a battle is said to have been fought near Culross, soon after the landing of Sueno, in which the Norwegians had the advantage, and the Scotch retreated to Perth, whither they were followed by the Norwegians, who are said to have encamped in the vicinity of that town. Then follows an ugly story of Duncan. While this gracious prince, by the advice, indeed, it is said, of Bancho, artfully protracted a negotiation for peace, he, at the same time, sent refreshments to Sueno, for the

Norwegian army, of bread, wine, and ale, all drugged with the juice of deadly-nightshade. Sueno himself took a hearty cup of kindness, and his soldiers followed the example. On the following night, while he and his army were sound asleep, overcome and stupified with the powerful narcotic, Macbeth and Bancho, at the head of the Scottish forces, fell upon the Norwegian camp, sword in hand, and made dreadful havoc. "The king, who was dead drunk," says Buchanan, "was seized by a few who were not quite so much intoxicated, and being not only deprived of strength, but of sensation, was thrown, like a burden, over a baggage horse, and carried to the fleet. But there the case was as bad as in the camp, for almost all the sailors were killed on shore, and it was with the utmost difficulty that as many could be collected as could manage one vessel. By their means, however, the king escaped home to his own country. The rest of the ships, in attempting to put to sea, were dashed against each other by a furious tempest, and broken, and sunk, at the mouth of the Tay; where the sand collecting, together with other wreck in the river, has formed a dangerous bank for sailors, now known by the name of Drumlaw Sands." Buchanan relates these things as circumstantially as if he had been present, and had seen the whole affair with his own eyes. For the honour of Scotland, we are pleased to find, that there does not seem to be a word of truth in the story. There is not the slightest notice of such events to be found in any one of our old Chronicles: in Tighernac, who wrote in 1088; or in the Annals of Ulster; or in the old English writers; or in the Danish Saxo, who wrote 1180; or in the Norwegian Chronicle of Theodoric, written about

1178; or in the Icelandic, or Orkney-inga Sagas; or Torfæus. Besides, there is no collateral evidence; no cairns, or *tumuli*, no names of places, that indicate this Norwegian slaughter. It is not likely that all the wine and ale contained in the cellars of Perth and its neighbourhood, could have afforded half a mouthful a piece to Sueno and his army, while the Vikingur would have thought nothing of emptying quart horns. It is still more difficult to conceive where the nightshade could have been found on such an emergency; and unless it had been infused plentifully, neither the heads nor the stomachs of the Northmen would have been much disordered.

Kenneth IV. the son of Duff, and the grandson of Malcolm I. while reigning lawfully, was defeated and slain at the battle of Monivaird, in 1003, by Malcolm II. This Kenneth left a son Bodhe, of whom we know nothing farther, than that he left both a son and a daughter, to avenge the wrongs of their grandfather, of whose crown they were the lawful heirs; but the son was dispatched by one of the last orders of Malcolm II. in 1033. The daughter of Bodhe was the Lady Gruoch, who married Gilcomgain, maormor of Moray, whose father, Maolbride, was destroyed by Malcolm, being burned in his Rath, with 50 of his men about him, in 1032, according to the *Ulst. Ann.* Gilcomgain, the husband of the Lady Gruoch, either perished along with his father, or in conflict with Malcolm, in the following year, 1033. Be this as it may, Gruoch, on the death of her husband, fled, with her infant son Lulach, to Macbeth, maormor of Ross, whose father, Finlegh, Malcolm had also slain.—*Ulst. Ann.* Macbeth not only afforded an asylum to Gruoch, but married this much injured

lady, and became maormor of Moray, during the minority of Lulach. Macbeth was thus the most powerful maormor in Scotland, and inferior only to the king. The title of Lulach to the Scottish throne was preferable to that of his successful competitor, Malcolm Caenmore, Gruoch being the granddaughter of Kenneth IV. descended from Duff, the eldest son of Malcolm I. Of the lineage of Macbeth nothing is known, but that his father Finlegh, and grandfather Roderic, were maormors of Ross, which they stoutly defended against the Northmen. If, indeed, he had been the son of Doad, or Doaca, daughter of Malcolm II. he might have entered into competition with Duncan for the crown; but though we are assured of this his descent, by Boece, and Buchanan, and Lesley, there is no evidence produced by these writers that such was the case; while, on the other hand, we have the authorities above quoted, that Malcolm gave his daughter in marriage to Sigurd Earl of Orkney. It was therefore in right of his wife, the granddaughter of Kenneth IV. that Macbeth seized the sceptre. In the Cartulary of Dunfermline she is called *Gruoch, filia Bodhe*, “Gruoch the daughter of Bodhe;” and a charter by her is there mentioned. *Pink.* vol. ii. p. 197.

Duncan appears to have been an excellent sovereign. In the Albanic Duan, he is called *Donncadh ghlain gooth*, “the pure-breath’d Duncan.” Notwithstanding his popularity, and amiable character, he was treacherously slain by Macbeth, at Bothgouanan, near Elgin, in the 6th year of his reign, anno 1039. There has been much disquisition about the scene of this event: but, according to the *Reg. of St. And.*, it was at Bothgouanan; and the *Chronicon Elegiacum* says,—

*A Finleg natus percussit eum Macabeta ;
Vulnere lethali Rex apud Elgin obit.*

“Macbeth, the son of Finleg, smote him ; the king died of the wound near Elgin.” See also, *Chron.* No. 5, in Innes; Fordun, l. iv. c. 44; Lord Hailes’ *Annals*, vol. i. p. 1; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 197.

The scene of this tragical event is laid by Shakespeare in Macbeth’s castle of Inverness. “Here,” says Dr Johnson, “is a castle, called the Castle of Macbeth, the walls of which are still standing. It was no very capacious edifice, but stands upon a rock so high and steep, that I think it was once not accessible but by the help of ladders or a bridge.” — *Journey to the Western Isles*, p. 343. Edin. edit. of 1819, p. 28–9. Steevens, in his commentary on Shakespeare, repeats this story, vol. vii. p. 367. “There was, in fact,” says Chalmers, “a castle built at Inverness, as early, perhaps, as the 12th century, which, even as late as the 18th century, was, with some modern barracks, used as a royal fort, and was destroyed by the rebels, in 1745.* And it was an illusion, both in the traveller and the commentator, to talk of the walls of Macbeth’s Castle, where he never had a castle, nor a residence. In Shakespeare, it was

* Chalmers is mistaken regarding this castle being destroyed by the adherents of Prince Charles, in 1745. It was inhabited long after that period. We have in our possession a very accurate drawing of the ancient Castle of Inverness, made by our much respected friend, Colonel Graham of Bellavista, who lived in it when a boy. We have been favoured, too, with some curious notes respecting it, and the gallant defence made by a handful of the king’s troops, in which Major Humphrey Colquhoun, the maternal grandfather of the Colonel, so much distinguished himself, as to elicit the thanks of the Duke of Cumberland.

fiction to lay the murder of Duncan at a place different from Bothgouanan, where the Chronicle had veraciously fixed it." — *Caled.* vol. i. p. 405. From the place of King Duncan's death being in Moray, it is probable that he had been drawn, by some urgent duty, within the territorial government of Gruoch and Macbeth. A commentator on Shakespeare supposes that Duncan was making his annual judicial progress throughout his dominions,—*Shakespeare*, Ed. 1793, vol. viii. p. 367; and he quotes Fordun and Buchanan, who talk in the idiom of their own times: but no such judicial progresses were made in the days of Duncan. The maormors were absolute within their jurisdictions; and, though they acknowledged the sovereign to be lord paramount, and obeyed him in time of war, yet they could neither be appointed nor displaced by the monarch. They frequently opposed him in arms; and, when defeated and slain, the proper heir succeeded to the command of the district. If the sovereign had presumed to appoint another maormor, he would have been rejected by the clan, who would, probably, have put him to death. This state of things induced succeeding monarchs to receive with open arms the Anglo-Saxon and the Anglo-Norman barons, with their retainers, that, by their means, they might establish the royal dominion over the country: yet the ancient maormors, of their own authority, assumed the title of *Comes*, or Earl, with the consent, indeed, of the king, who was unable to gainsay them. Our old historians were ignorant of these matters.—From Torfæus, and the Orkney-inga Saga, we learn, that Thorfin, the son of Sigurd, refused to pay the tribute which he owed, for Caithness and Sutherland, to the Scottish king. Duncan marched

into the north, to enforce what was due; and, in his progress, was obliged to traverse both Moray and Ross, the countries of Gruoch and Macbeth.—*Orcades*, c. xii.; *Saga*, p. 5, 29, 35, 71–4, 87.; Chalmers's *Caled.* vol. i. p. 406. We are at a loss to know the nature of the tribute here alluded to. Scotland had no coin of her own in the days of Duncan: a Scottish mint was first established in the beginning of the 12th century, by Alexander I. The oldest coins, with a few exceptions, which have been discovered in the country, are those of Canute the Great, who lived, indeed, at this period; but that his coins had found their way to Scotland, in such quantity as to form a circulating medium, is improbable. Long after this, all rents were paid in the rude produce of the soil. The king had many castles, and so also had the bishops, abbots, and great barons, where they occasionally resided with their retainers, in order to eat up this produce upon the spot. As Thorfin could not easily have conveyed the rude produce of the soil to the king, we suppose he had refused to own him as lord paramount for Caithness and Sutherland; and that it was to enforce submission that Duncan marched northward. Of the circumstances attending the death of Duncan, nothing certain is known, but that he died by violence, and that he fell by the hand of Macbeth, at Bothgouanan, near Elgin, in Moray. It is generally believed that he was treacherously slain; but of the manner of his death, all we know is from the *Chron. Eleg.* already quoted, and from the *Ulster Annals*, which say, *a suis occisus est*; “he was slain by his countrymen.” Neither this expression, nor the language of the *Chron. Eleg.* necessarily imply perfidy; and Duncan may have fallen in battle with Macbeth.

The words, however, in *Chron. Eleg.*—*percussit eum*, “he smote him,”—lean towards the assumption that Macbeth slew him by treachery. Upon this event, Macbeth seized the Scottish sceptre, in right of his wife, the much injured Gruoch, grand-daughter of Kenneth IV., and began to reign, anno 1039. The commentators on Shakespeare are content to travel in the humble track of Holinshed, who retails the fictions of Boece. They seem, also, to have been adopted, without inquiry, by Buchanan, and by other writers. We find them repeated in the *Tales of a Grandfather*. That Macbeth’s father was Thane of Angus, and married Doda, daughter of Malcolm II., was first asserted by Boece, and is pure fable. In the story of the Weird Sisters, Winton makes the first witch hail Macbeth Thane of *Crumbachty*, which is the Gaelic name of Cromarty, and where the maormors of Ross probably had their *Rath*, or castle; the second hails him Thane of Moray; and the third hails him King. It has been shewn, that thanes were unknown in Scotland in the time of Macbeth; and, when afterward introduced, they were only land-bailiffs. But, Macbeth was maormor of Ross by inheritance, and maormor of Moray, during the minority of Lulach, in right of his wife Gruoch. With all this power, he must, besides, have had the influence of the partizans of Kenneth IV., in maintaining him upon the throne; and these evidently supported the pretensions of Lulach, his successor, in opposition to his competitor, Malcolm Caenmore. We may here observe, that Lord Hailes seems not to perceive that Duncan’s right to the crown arose from possession, rather than from any just title he could derive from his grandfather, Malcolm II. Macbeth is

said, by some of our historians, to have framed laws; but this is fable: to promulgate laws, was inconsistent with the manners of the times in which he lived. He seems to have been a man of talents; and, during his reign of 17 years, we read of only one insurrection. The *Ann. of Ulst.*, at 1040, call Duncan “Doncha MacCrinan;” and, at 1045, we find “a battle between the Scots themselves, where fell Cronan, abbot of Duncaillen.” From this notice, it is probable that Crinan had organized a rebellion, to revenge the death of his son King Duncan, and to restore his grandson, afterward Malcolm III.; but he was defeated and slain by Macbeth. It was an ordinary thing in those days, for bishops and abbots to lead forth troops to battle. With the exception of this insurrection, his reign appears to have been tranquil, and his people contented. His government seems to have been vigorous and popular, while the country enjoyed prosperity. The *Chron. Eleg.* represents fertile seasons as the attendants of his reign:

In cujus regno fertile tempus erat.

“In whose reign there was a fertile time.”

Notwithstanding all this, he was unhappy, and the murder of Duncan haunted him continually. He became superstitious. Macbeth and the Lady Gruoch gave the lands of Kirkness, and also the manor of Bolgy, to the Culdees of Loch Leven. As he was superstitious, it is not unlikely that he consulted with witches. Antiquaries are not agreed, whether he made a pilgrimage to Rome, a practice very common in that age. Marianus Scotus, a contemporary writer, says, *Rex Scotiæ Macbetad Romæ argentum seminando pauperibus distribuit*; literally, “Macbeth king of Scot-

land distributed money at Rome, by sowing it among the poor." Simeon of Durham, and Roger Hoveden, at the year 1050, tell us, *Rex Scotiæ Macbetad Romæ argentum spargendo distribuit*, literally, "Macbeth, king of Scotland, distributed money at Rome, by throwing it about." These are the authorities. They are followed by the *Chron. of Melrose*, and by Fordun.—See *Chron. of Melrose*, p. 157, and Fordun, lib. v. c. 9. Winton confirms this acceptance, —vi. 29, he says,

"All his tyme was great plente,
Habundande bathe on lande and se :
He was in justice richt lauchful,
And till his legis al awfulle.
Quhen Pape was Leo the Nynt in Rome,
As pilgryme to the court he come ;
And in his alms he sew silver
Till al pur folk, that had myster.
In al tyme oysit he to wyrk
Profetabilly for haly kyrk."

Leo the Ninth ascended the papal chair in 1049. "Goodal," says Chalmers, "was the first who was so absurd as to suppose, on these authorities, that Macbeth *went* to Rome. While Lord Hailes laughs at this supposition, he insists, that the original insinuated that Macbeth bribed the court of Rome."—*Caled.* vol. i. p. 409. Lord Hailes says, "The passage only implies that he remitted money to Rome;" but we agree with Pinkerton in thinking, that the plain sense of the words is, that Macbeth went to Rome. We are puzzled in the endeavour to find out the source of his supplies, or whence he could get money to strew. Scotland had little to give in exchange for the precious metals, in the days of Macbeth. If she had merchants, it is probable they were mere pelt-mongers; at least, hides must have been the staple commodity for exportation.

It is uncertain when sheep-farming was introduced, but it seems to have come along with the Saxons, who certainly began the fisheries, which soon became a source of considerable national wealth. Superstition prevented the ancient Celtic inhabitants from eating fish; and there is handed down a Gaelic proverb, which expresses contempt for the Saxons, by giving them the designation of *Fish-eaters*. We conclude, however, that Macbeth had by some means procured a quantity of Canute's coin, to defray the expense of his journey, and to distribute among the poor at Rome. The zeal of our historians to gratify the descendants of Malcolm III., has induced them to calumniate Macbeth. He has been represented as the son of a devil, from connexion with a witch;* which is likewise detailed by Winton; so that his praise of Macbeth may be considered impartial, and derived from tradition. Indeed, the recourse of Malcolm Caenmore to a foreign force, in order to assert his right to the throne, shews that Macbeth's subjects were not generally dissatisfied. King Duncan had been married to a sister of Siward, the potent Earl of Northumberland. At the instigation of his nephew, and probably with the approbation of Edward the Confessor, Siward conducted a numerous army into Scotland, in order to place Malcolm on the throne. He was attended by his son Osbert, and it is generally understood they marched to Birnam, immediately south of Dunkeld, perhaps to effect a junction with forces raised by the friends of Duncan, to assist his son. As there are a number of *tumuli* and

* However absurd this story may appear now-a-days, such a connexion was, in Scotland, believed possible, down toward the end of the seventeenth century.

cairns, on the skirts of Birnam, it is probable that here they engaged Macbeth, who, by all accounts, was not deficient in courage, and therefore not likely to shut himself up in Dunsinnan. Winton wrote in 1410, or about 350 years after the events he relates; and according to the notion of people in his times, Malcolm and Siward marched to *Brynnane*, and thence to *Dunsanane*, "*ilka man baring intil hys hand, a busk of that wode there.*" — *Cronykill*, vol. i. p. 238–9. Winton adds from tradition, —

" *The flyttand wode* thai callyd ay,
That lang tyme eftyre-hend that day."

The forest of Birnam is supposed to have anciently formed part of the royal domain. It is believed that Malcolm and Siward were confronted by Macbeth, on the north side of Dunsinnan Hill, where a severe engagement took place, and Macbeth was obliged to retire from the field. He retreated northward; and, at Belmont, near Meigle, 8 miles from Dunsinnan, having rallied his forces, he made another desperate stand; but was totally defeated, and compelled to fly toward Moray. This account is borne out by the number of *tumuli* and cairns, which have been found at the places mentioned, many of which are now removed. Within the enclosures of Belmont, there is a *tumulus*, called *Belli-Duff*, where, according to tradition, Macbeth fell, fighting hand to hand with Macduff.—*Stat. Acco.* vol. i. p. 505–6. Dr Playfair, however, who wrote the *Stat. Acco.* of this parish, intimates, that Macbeth fell elsewhere. Belmont, "*the mount of combat*," appears to derive its name from this *tumulus*. At a short distance, south-west of Belmont Castle, there is an upright stone, 20 tons weight, which tradition says was raised to

commemorate the death of one of Macbeth's generals; but this is not likely, as Macbeth, with his adherents, fled from the field of battle toward Moray. We think it probable, that this stone was erected in honour of Osbert, the son of Siward, who fell in the engagement. The number of the slain proves that the battle had been stoutly contested. In the *Ulst. Ann.* we find, at 1054, "A battle between Scots and Saxons, where 3000 Scots, and 1500 of Saxons were slain, with Dolfin Mac-Finlor." Siward returned instantly to Northumberland, to quell an insurrection, and died next year, 1055. This Siward was of gigantic stature and prodigious strength: his fame was great, and wonderful stories are related of his prowess, by ancient authors. Macbeth continued to make head against Malcolm, till he fell at Lumphanan, in Aberdeenshire.—*Reg. of St And.*, in 1056; and it is generally understood, that he died by the injured hand of Macduff; though the ancient chronicles convey the tradition of the times in which they were written, that he was killed by a cruel death. The *Chronicon Elegiacum* says,—

*Hunc, tamen, Lufnant truncavit morte crudeli
Duncani natus, nomine Malcolmus.*

"The son of Duncan, by name Malcolm, slew him, however, at Lumphanan, by a cruel death." *Truncavit*, "cut off his head." Macbeth's cairn lies on the brow of a hill, about a mile north of the kirk of Lumphanan. It is about 40 feet in diameter, and raised pretty high in the centre. It is probable that he was buried under this cairn; for it is most unlikely that his body would be conveyed to Hyona, as reported by our historians. Farther up the hill, are a number of smaller cairns.—*Stat. Acco.* vol. vi. p. 388. If we may credit tradition,

a son of Macbeth was overtaken and slain, when flying from the battle in which his father had fallen. In the parish of Touch, a few miles north of Lumphanan, there is a large upright stone, $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet round, which, it is said, was raised to his memory, and that he was interred under it.—*Stat. Acco.* vol. viii. p. 269. The chronicles are silent as to this event, and make no mention of the children of Macbeth. In the most ancient charters, we find bishops and nobles of that name. Bancho, or Banquo, and Fleance, never existed; at least, if they did, they were unknown to the writers of our old chronicles, the Irish Annals, and to Fordun. The very names appear to be fictitious, as they are not Gaelic. There never was a thane of Lochaber. The Scottish kings had no demesnes in that impervious district, and therefore could not require the services of a land-steward in that part of the country. The minister of Kilmailie, in Lochaber, says, Banquo had a castle on the river Lochy, near Fort-William; “and a little below the site of Torecastle, there is a most beautiful walk, about a quarter of a mile long, called Banquo’s Walk.”—*Stat. Acco.* vol. viii. p. 436. But these names have been given in modern times, like many others of the same description, that refer to fictions. From the evidence of record, we know that Banquo was not an ancestor of the family of Stewart. History and tradition are altogether silent as to the fate of Macbeth’s queen, the Lady Gruoch.

Lulach, son of the Lady Gruoch, by Gilcomgain, maormor of Moray, succeeded Macbeth, December 5, 1056. His pretensions to the throne of his ancestors were supported by the Ross and Moray men, the descendants of the partizans of Kenneth IV., and the

friends of the former reign. *Luaillach*, in Gaelic, signifies a mimic, a man of gestures, which has been translated *fatuus*, by our chronicle writers; but if this prince had been an idiot, he would not have been regarded, and could not have contended with Malcolm, as he did for some months. They met in conflict at Essie, in Strathbolgy, when Lulach was overpowered and slain.—*Chronicon Elegiacum*. The *Annals of Ulster* mistate the date of this event by one year. At 1058, we find “Lulach MacGillcomgain, Archking of Scotland, killed by Maolcolumb MacDuncha in battle.—Magbethai MacFinloich, Archking of Scotland, killed by Melsechlin MacDoncha in battle.”

Malcolm III., surnamed Caenmore, after a bloody struggle, which lasted two years, mounted the throne, his competitor, Lulach, having fallen, April 5, 1057.—Chalmers’s *Caled.* vol. i. p. 416. After this, the history of Scotland becomes comparatively clear, and we shall close our historical notices respecting these events with a few remarks.—Malcolm appears to have given several grants of lands to Saxon barons, who sought refuge in Scotland during that stormy period, and also to Normans, toward the end of his reign; but there is no evidence that he introduced surnames, or Gothic titles, or the feudal system, into his dominions, as has been supposed. Malcolm could neither read* nor write: He had no seal: His grants are couched in verse; and, instead of the impress of a seal, he says, “I bite the *white* wax with my tooth, in presence of these witnesses,”

* “Although he could not read, he used often to turn over the leaves, and kiss the prayer books, and books of devotion, which he heard his wife say were dear to her.”—FORDUN, 1 b. v. cap. 23.

naming some of the royal family. If all the grants in verse ascribed to this king be genuine, Malcolm was a queer man. His son, Edgar, was the first Scottish monarch, who is represented on his seal, sitting on his throne, emblazoned with the attributes of majesty, soon after 1100.—*Sax. Chron.* And this Edgar is said to have been the first king of Scots who was anointed by the bishop of St Andrews, by a licence from the Pope.—Martin's *Reliquiæ divi Andreæ*, ch. xi. of the Bishops. Alexander I., brother and successor of Edgar, had a great seal, with a double impress. He appears to have had no counter-seal.—*Hailes*. It appears to us, that the towns in Scotland could only have been hamlets around the castles of the king, or of the maormors, previously to the introduction of Saxons, Flemings, and Normans into the kingdom, during the reigns of kings subsequent to Malcolm Caenmore. There being neither manufactures, nor commerce, nor fisheries, there could be no towns of much consequence. For the above reasons, we cannot suppose that Malcolm framed laws. He had not the means to enforce obedience; the maormors being still independent within their respective districts. It is natural, however, to suppose, that, under a vigorous reign, more deference would be paid to the royal authority, even in times of peace. He is said by Boece, Buchanan, and others, to have abrogated a pretended law of a King Evenus, that never existed, and, at the entreaty of a pious queen, to have substituted in its place a fine, called *Mercheta Mulierum*, “The *Merched* of Women.” This subject has occupied the attention of our legislators, and the pens of historians, jurists, and antiquaries. The feigned law of an imaginary king, we shall pass over; as there never was, any where,

such a law, but in the prurient fancy of a fabulous writer. *Merched* of women, was a duty paid to the superior, by the vileyns, or cultivators of the soil, on the marriage of their daughters. It is probable, that this fine was only exacted, on the extra-territorial marriages. The vileyns themselves, being *ascripti glebæ*, "annexed to the soil," a daughter being removed to another property, was a loss to the proprietor of so much live stock, and her father paid a fine. In process of time, however, it was discovered, that, in general, as many young women were imported, as were exported, when the indemnification was changed to a small pecuniary composition, acknowledging the old usage, and the right of the superior. The *Merchet* of women prevailed in south as well as in north Britain. In the ancient British language, *Merch* signifies a daughter or young woman; the plural, *Merched*, was latinized *Mercheta*; hence the *Mercheta Mulierum*, the *Merched* of women, about which so much has been written. This custom of *Mercheta* was not abrogated by Malcolm Caenmore, as we see by the adjudication of the national synod, held at Perth, 1206, that the bishops of St Andrews were entitled to the moiety of *Blood-witts*, and of the *Mercheta Mulierum*, on the lands of Kirktown of Arbuthnot. *Mercheta Mulierum*, is mentioned in numerous charters, through the subsequent reigns, down to the end of the sixteenth century. It is mentioned in one granted by Queen Mary, in 1553. The latest that we know of, is one dated 1610, by Robert Douglas, laird of Glenbervie, granting to his second son several lands in the northern part of Kincardineshire, with various pertinents, among which is mentioned *Mulierum Merchetis*. We thus see, that the usage

continued till after the union of the crowns in the person of James VI. The charter last mentioned was in the possession of the author of *Caledonia*; see vol. i. p. 450.; see also Whitaker. *Blood-witts*, was a fine paid to the superior, in cases of manslaughter, on account of the proprietor losing so much of his property, or live stock. Both fines were anciently paid in cattle. In the year 1074, there was held a council of the Scottish church, upon the proper time of keeping Lent, and the celebration of Easter. At this council, the Scotch clergy were to argue with Queen Margaret. She, however, could only speak Saxon, while the clergy could only speak Gaelic; and Malcolm, who could speak both languages, acted as interpreter. Turgot, in his *Life of Margaret*, gives an account of this conference, at which he was present. At the end of three days, the clergy, conscious of their own ignorance, acquiesced in the opinions of the learned queen, as delivered by the royal expositor.—*Hailes*. From the circumstances mentioned, we conclude, that Gaelic was the language then commonly spoken in Scotland. Pinkerton, and other learned men, have maintained, that the language was Saxon, or Gothic. The churchmen, say they, being Gael, from Hyona, whose religious services were performed in Latin, it was not necessary for them to acquire the language of the people. But the names of the kings and maormors being Gaelic, and the clergy not understanding Saxon, we infer that Gaelic was the language spoken by the inhabitants, with whom the clergy must necessarily have had daily intercourse. Besides, Hyona, after being burnt, and repeatedly pillaged by the Danes, was now possessed by the Nor-

wegians, and had long ceased to be a seminary for the education of churchmen.*

We think it improbable that Malcolm Caenmore created Macduff Earl of Fife. There is no evidence that this monarch introduced Gothic titles into his dominions. Our old historians are, upon the subject of titles, unworthy of credit, as they appear to have been extremely ill-informed regarding the state of Scotland in those early times. The Danish historians call the Scottish chiefs Jarls, long before this reign; which only implies, that the Scotch maormor had the same rank and power as the Danish Jarl, pronounced Yarl. Torfæus died 1720, and cannot be supposed to have known any thing of the matter. The charter of Malcolm to the monks of Dunfermline, published by Dugdale, in his *Monasticon*, from a communication by Sir James Balfour, and which is tested by three earls, has been shewn to be a forgery. No earls are found in charters, or in authentic history, before the reigns of Alexander I. and David I. who were the sons indeed of Malcolm, but the fourth and fifth sovereigns after him. Of anterior earls, Boece fables. Lord Hailes, Lord Kames, and the peerage writers, seem to be mistaken in supposing that earldoms were erected, and earls created, by Malcolm III. That the maormors assumed the title of *Comes*, or Earl, of their own accord, appears from the circumstance, that an ancient charter, creating a maormor a *Comes*, or Earl, has never been seen. David I. before he mounted the throne, calls himself *Comes*. In the *Inquisitio Davidis*, made in 1116, that is, eight years before his

* Gaelic was spoken in the celebrated school of Aberdeen, in the time of Queen Mary.—VAUS's *Rudimenta*, Edin. 1566. CHALMERS's *Caled.* vol. i. p. 478.

accession, Matilda, *Comitissa*, his own consort, appears as witness, but no *Comes*. The practice of annexing the title to the name commenced in the reign of David I.; but the first *Comes* who annexed his title to his name was Gillebride, *Comes de Anegus*, in the reign of Malcolm IV.—*Diplom. Scotiæ*, pl. xxiv. The Countess of Fife, however, preceded this earl in the dignified innovation. Hela, *Comitissa de Fife*, was a witness to the charter of Ada, the wife of Earl Henry, the son of David, giving to the monastery a toft in Haddington. Ada was the mother of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion. As this charter was made during the life of Earl Henry, who died in 1152, Hela has the honour of being the first countess, or count, whose name has yet appeared, as a witness to any charter, with the name of the earldom annexed.—*Trans. Antiq. Soc. of Scot.* vol. i. p. 118. The titles of *Vice-Comes*, or Viscount, and of Baron, seem to have been introduced at the same time with that of *Comes*, or Earl. The term Barony, as applied to lands, was not adopted for some time afterward. The Barony of Kilblathmont is first mentioned in 1219.—*Chart. of Arbroath*, 2. This term, however, was but rarely used even in the time of Alexander III. In addition to the Gaelic maormors, the only earls of new creation, during the Scoto-Saxon period of our history, seem to have been Gospatrick, Earl of Dunbar, by David I.; Duncan, Earl of Carrick, by William the Lion; and William, Earl of Sutherland, by Alexander II. Thus the peerages in North Britain did not commence till the twelfth century.

It is generally believed that Macduff, maormor of Fife, was highly instrumental in placing Malcolm Caenmore upon the throne, but of this there is no direct

evidence. "It seems certain, however," says Chalmers, "that, in very early times, the maormors, or earls of Fife, were entitled, 1. To place the king on the inaugural stone. 2. To lead the van of the king's army into battle. 3. To enjoy the privilege of sanctuary to the clan Macduff."—*Caled.* vol. i. p. 417. That from very early times, the earls of Fife were entitled to place the king on the inaugural stone, is unquestionable. It appears, indeed, to have been considered a necessary part of the ceremony; for we see Isabella, the patriotic Countess of Buchan, a sister of the Earl of Fife, placing King Robert Bruce in the chair of state at his coronation; and the practice continued while the earldom of Fife remained in the possession of the descendants of Macduff, or 1371.—*Reg. Rob. II.* This earldom was annexed to the crown by James I. anno 1424. Of Macduff and his descendants having this honour conferred upon them by Malcolm Caenmore, for services rendered by Macduff, no satisfactory proof has been produced, yet it is not improbable that such was the case. Of the second honour said to have been conferred, namely, that of leading the van of the king's army into battle, we are far from being certain that the earls of Fife ever had it in their power to boast of such a privilege. They were either invested with no such right, or the earls of Fife were a most unwarlike race, as not one of them claimed this high distinction. As to the third, if clan Macduff had some particular privilege of sanctuary, its nature is not understood: there is not sufficient evidence of such being granted by Malcolm Caenmore. Sir Robert Sibbald, in his *History of Fife*, 1710, quotes in support of these supposed privileges of the earls of Fife, an epitome in his possession

of the “Book of Pasly.” This book, vulgarly called the “Black Book of Paisley,” was chiefly a transcript of Fordun’s Chronicle, made by the monks in the monastery of Paisley, and continued by them. The extract given by Sir Robert is to the same purport with what Winton says in his Chronicle, 1410; and we quote his words, as affording a good specimen of the language of the country in the beginning of the fifteenth century:—

“*First*, fra his sete till the alter,
Then he should be the king’s leder,
And in that sete to set him doune,
To take his coronatioune;
For him and his posteritie
When ere the kings suld crownit be.”

“Efter that the *secund* thing
Was, that he askat at the king
Till have the vawart of his bataile,
Whatever in war wald it assail.”—
“War, the waward suld governit be
Be him and his posteritie.”

“Efter then the thrid asking”—
“Gif ony, be *suddand chawdmelle*,
Hapnit sua to slane be”——
“Gif the sua slane war gentilman,
Four and twenty merks than,
For a zeman twelf merks pay, &c. &c.”

Winton goes on to shew, that an inquisition concerning the proofs of the kindred was to be made at “Cowper,” before the privilege was allowed, and absolution given. This writer, no doubt, told the tradition of his day; but, unfortunately, these events belong to a period of our history 354 years preceding the date of his Chronicle; and, in the course of that time, the language, manners, and customs of the Lowlands of Scotland had undergone

a complete change. Major, 1521, repeats the story, and blames Macduff for asking these privileges of Malcolm. "Thus," says Sir R. Sibbald, "he argues, in his disputatious way, without any solid argument. This privilege was that of an asylum, or girth, and the first we meet with in our records; and was, to Macduff's kindred, as the cities of refuge were to the Israelites, Joshua, chap. xx."—*Hist. of Fife*, p. 215. Boece, 1526, tells the same tale as Major; so does Buchanan, 1582; and the whole authority seems to be Winton's Chronicle, as there can be little dependence on the epitome of the Book of Paisley, itself a transcript from a credulous writer, whose works are interpolated, and who wrote 329 years after the accession of Malcolm III. and after the change above mentioned, in the institutions of the kingdom, had taken place. In the *Regiam Majestatem*,* we find the statutes of Alexander II. who died 1249: they are indeed, by many, suspected to be spurious. Among these statutes, there is one respecting the Earl of Fife, from which it would appear that he had some peculiar privilege. Chap. xv. "Of Amerciaments to be taken up fra them, quha passes nocht to the king's hoist." Paragraph 3. "Na earle, nor his servants, may enter in the lands of anie freeholders haldand of the

* There is a juridical tract, first published by Sir John Skene, in 1609, called *Regiam Majestatem*, from the two first words. About this tract, there has been much discussion, by eminent lawyers and antiquaries, regarding its authenticity, as a book of Scotch law. Though we are not qualified to give an opinion, we incline to think with Chalmers and others, that the work was composed at Perth, about 1300: that it contains much anachronism and inconsistency: and is an authority not to be depended on, though it was considered a book of Scottish law, by the Parliament of 1469.

king, to tak up this unlaw ; bot onlie the Earle of Fife." There is here a marginal note,—“ And he may not enter as earle, bot as *Mair* to the king of the earledom of Fife, for uptaking of the king's deutes and richts.” We suspect Skene, the publisher of *Reg. Maj.*, was himself the author of the marginal note. These, however, are the ancient authorities upon this subject. In the *Tales of a Grandfather*, though the two first mentioned honours are said to have been conferred on Macduff by Malcolm III. the privilege of sanctuary is omitted.—Vol. i. p. 40. The learned editor of the *Minstrelsy of the Border* “ suspects, that the privilege did not amount to a remission of the crime, but only a right of being exempted from all other courts of judicature, except that of the Lord of Fife ;” and he remarks, “ that the privilege of being answerable only to the chief of his own clan, was, to the descendants of Macduff, almost equivalent to an absolute indemnity.”—Vol. ii. It seems not to have occurred to the learned editor of the *Border Minstrelsy*, that, in the days of Malcolm III. there was not a maormor in Scotland who was not absolute within his jurisdiction, and that his clan were amenable only to him. There was no law recognized, but *Brehon Law*, that is, the usages and customs of the tribes. This state of things continued in the Highlands long after the title of maormor was forgotten, and even down to the time of the abolition of heritable jurisdictions, by Stat. 20, Geo. II.* There is no evidence that Malcolm III. made innovations of

* See Lovat's *Letter to the Duke of Newcastle*, 1727, and *Report of Lords of Session*, 1746–7. “ Offenders are not from thence amenable to justice, nor can process of law have free course among them.”

any kind: he was quite illiterate; and the Scottish kings, in those days, seem not to have possessed legislative power. The feudal system began only to be introduced into some districts of Scotland proper about the year 1100.—*Caled.* vol. i. p. 696, *et passim*. Anciently, among all the Celtic, and also the Saxon tribes, if a man was killed in a chance-medley, or on sudden provocation, the slaughter was atoned for by a fine of cattle; part of which was paid to the superior, for the loss of his live stock, and part to the relations of the dead, as *kinbute*. This fine was called *Blood-witts*, and we see it mentioned in the adjudication of the national synod, held at Perth, 1206. Before this time, the usage had, in Scotland, become statute law. “Give ane slaies anie man, he shall give twenty-nine kye, and ane young kow; and make peace with the friends of the defunct, conforme to the law of the countrie.”—Skene’s *Stat. of William the Lion*, c. vi. Under the *Brehon* system, which prevailed before statute law, all crimes were commuted; and theft, rape, and murder, were punished by a fine, which was paid in cattle.—*Caled.* vol. i. p. 308. Skene knew this; and, apparently desirous to make out a grant in favour of the Earl of Fife in some measure consistent with the state of society in ancient times, says, “The croce of clan Makduff had privilege and liberty of girth, in sik sort, that when onie manslayer, being within the ninth degree of kin and bluid to Makduff, sometime Earl of Fyffe, come to that croce, and gave nyne kie and an colpindach, or young kow, he was free of the slaughter committed by him.”—Skene, *De Verb. Sig.* voce *Clan Makduff*. Skene refers to no authority, and, doubtless, had none to produce. This

is the first notice of Macduff's Cross, or of its being a place of girth, 1609. Sir George Mackenzie and Lord Hailes have both demonstrated, that Skene was unfaithful as an editor of Scottish law. Unfortunately, in the days of Sir John Skene, and, we are sorry to say, for a century afterward, it was not thought beneath a gentleman to fable, or even to forge, if either the honour of Scotland, or of any great family, was concerned. According to Winton, and our old historians, the fine was 24 merks, if a gentleman was slain; and 12 merks, if a zeman, or yeoman. But Scotland, in the days of Malcolm Caenmore, had no coin of her own, and very little of her neighbour's; while merks were unknown. Of the title of gentleman much may be said; but let this suffice: it was unknown in Scotland at the period alluded to, and is of Norman extraction: in every country, however, there must be an equivalent title of some sort, except among savages, and in pure democracies; and scarcely in the latter. Yeoman was unknown in those days, and is also of Norman or Saxon extraction: though the derivation of the name is uncertain, it may signify a bowman, and be derived from the *Yew* of the bow; or it may signify a ploughman, from *Jugum*, a plough, which the Germans pronounce *Yugum*.* — Sir James Lawrence, Knight of Malta, on the *Nobility of the British Gentry*, p. 56. It has been shewn, that a thane was a land-steward, and that both the name and the office were introduced by the Saxons; but, by Winton and our old historians, Macduff is

* Dr Johnson does not explain correctly the title of gentleman; and the derivation of yeoman, given by Junius, seems not to be the true etymology.

called Thane* of Fife. It thus appears, that the story respecting Macduff, as told by Winton, and repeated by the historians, is incompatible with the usages of the times to which they refer.

The reputed sanctuary of Clan Macduff, above alluded to by Skene, is Macduff's Cross, which is situated about half a mile south of the road leading from Abernethy to Newburgh. The pedestal, which is all that remains, is a large rough quadrilateral block of freestone, with no vestige of inscription; nor is there any appearance of a hollow, in which an upright column could have been inserted. Sir James Balfour, however, in his *Notes upon Fife*, tells us "That it was broke to pieces by some of the Congregation, as they named them, in the time of the reformation in religion, and pulling down of churches, in their coming from St Johnstoun, in Perthshire, to Lundoris." He says, "The inscription, even at that time, was so outworn, that he who copied the samen, (given to Sir James, by his son,) had much ado to make words of some dispersed and outworn bare characters, these remaining to view being Roman, betwixt intermingled Saxon." Sir John Skene, 1609, says, "He saw, in the stane of this croce, sundry barbarous words and verses written, which he willingly pretermitted, and yet some of them appeared to be conform to this purpose,—*Propter Makgidrim*," &c., giving the two last lines. Sir Robert Sibbald, 1710, says, "When I saw them, time had so defaced them, I could discern none upon

* Dr Johnson is mistaken in the explanation of Thane, and the only authority he quotes is Shakespeare's tragedy of *Macbeth*; but, indeed, he expresses himself doubtingly upon the subject.

the pedestal of the cross: the rest of it is not to be seen." He produces a copy from an essay upon the inscription of Macduff's Cross, by the ingenious Mr J. Cunninghame. This Mr Cunninghame was told of an exact copy, with a true exposition, in the hands or books of the clerk at the Newburgh. The reading, which was approved by Mr Cunninghame, was thus:—

“ Maldraradum dragos mairia laghslita largos
 Spalando spados sive nig fig knighthite gnaros
 Lothea leudiscos laricingen lairia liscos
 Et colovurtos sic fit tibi bursia burtus
 Exitus et bladadrum sive lim sive lam sive labrum.
 Propter Magridin et hoc oblatum
 Accipe smeleridem super limthide lamthida labrum.”

Sir Robert Sibbald observes, “ That his friend, Dr Nicholson, Bishop of Carlyle, has well named them macaronik rhimes: for, indeed, such they are, a mixture of Latin, Saxonick, Danish, and old French words, with some which seem to be feigned for the matter's sake. The bishop, who is a good judge in these matters, says, Mr Cunninghame reduces them into an intelligible and princely charter, wherein King Malcolm Kanmore grants large privileges to the loyal earl of that country.” We shall pretermit Mr Cunninghame's paraphrase as being irrelative, neither Malcolm Kanmore, nor Macduff, nor the Earl of Fife, being mentioned in the lines. For the same reason, we shall pretermit a translation of them into Latin, by a Mr Douglas, with his English paraphrase. Of the latter, Sir Robert Sibbald quaintly observes, “ However, if this be not a true account, it is ingenious, and well invented.”—*Hist. of Fife*, p. 222. That the above inscription ever was on Macduff's Cross

is dubious ; but, at any rate, it is a farrago of barbarous jargon, which has no reference to Macduff or his clan ; yet, learned men have written comments on the gibberish. The two last lines have been supposed to signify “ on account of St Magrider, or Magirdle, and this oblation, receive absolution by washing at this stone.” Magrider, or Magirdle, was an obscure saint, whose name is not to be found in Keith’s catalogue ; but in honour of whom was founded the chapel of Ecclesia Magirdle, in the neighbouring parish of Dron. During the middle ages, the monks, in order to while away the time, which seems to have hung heavy on their hands, invented legends, and diverted themselves in composing barbarous verses. The former still disgrace our early history ; and the latter now amuse the boys of some grammar schools, where such verses are called Dog Latin ; and this pretended inscription, which has so often found a place in grave books, appears to be one of these monkish effusions. In the vicinity of the stone are several cairns, supposed to have been raised over those who were killed before reaching the sanctuary ; but, to us, it seems more probable that this was the scene of an unrecorded skirmish ; and while the cairns, as usual, cover the bodies of the slain, the stone was erected to the memory of a fallen chief. That clan Macduff had any particular privilege in cases of manslaughter, the evidence appears to us to be unsatisfactory. Skene says, “ He saw an auld evident, beand that Spens of Wormiston, beand of Macduff’s kinne, enjoyed the benefit and immunity of this law, for the slaughter of ane called Kinninmonth.” Sir Hugh Abernethy, and many others, are said to have made the same claim. But Skene is not to be trusted ; and,

both by *Brehon* and statute law, manslaughter was commuted by a fine of cattle. In the notes to the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. ii. p. 350, it is said, that a laird of Arbuthnot, too, enjoyed the advantage of this privilege; and there is a document produced, shewing that it was pleaded in behalf of one of the Morays of Abercairney, who had killed William de Spalden. No light is thrown upon the nature of the privilege by this document, which may perhaps be spurious. It has always been understood, that the immunity related only to killing on sudden provocation, *suddand chawdmelle*; yet, in the case of Arbuthnot above mentioned, it was widely different; for he had, along with others, from premeditation and design, foully murdered the sheriff of the Mearns. We give the story, as affording a specimen of the savage manners of Scotland, in the beginning of the fifteenth century. "This person, whose name was Melville of Glenbervie, bore his faculties so harshly, that he became detested by the barons of the country. Reiterated complaints of his conduct having been made to James I. (or, as others say, to the Duke of Albany,) the monarch answered, in a moment of unguarded impatience, "Sorrow gin the sheriff were soddin, and suppit in broo'!" The complainers retired perfectly satisfied. Shortly after, the lairds of Arbuthnot, Mather, Lawrieston, and Pittarow, decoyed Melville to the top of the hill of Garvock, above Lawrencekirk, under pretence of a grand hunting party. Upon this place, (still called the Sheriff's Pot,) the barons had prepared a fire and a boiling caldron, into which they plunged the unlucky sheriff. After he was sodden (as the king termed it) for a sufficient time, the savages, that they might literally observe the

royal mandate, concluded the scene of abomination by actually partaking of the hell-broth. The three lairds were outlawed for this offence. The laird of Arbuthnot *is said* to have eluded the royal vengeance, by claiming the benefit of the law of clan Macduff. A pardon, or perhaps a deed of repledgiation, founded upon that law, *is said* to be still extant among the records of the Viscount of Arbuthnot."—*Minstrelsy*, vol. ii. Such a pardon has never met the public eye, and the subject is still involved in obscurity. If it proceeded from a privilege granted to clan Macduff by Malcolm III. it is plain, that the extent of the immunity was not understood by Winton, and our old historians. The explanations offered by Skene, and later writers, are contradictory, and inconsistent with the usages of Scotland in the days of Malcolm Caenmore. We think it probable, that the pardon of Arbuthnot would be founded on the implied permission to kill the sheriff, contained in the fretful answer of the sovereign; and that the privilege of girth, said to have belonged to clan Macduff, is a fable.—The Earl of Wemyss, and other gentlemen of the name of Wemyss, derive their descent from Gillimichael Macduff, *comes*, a witness to many charters of David I. Gillimichael signifies the servant of Michael; and this *comes*, or earl, died anno 1139. He is supposed to have been the grandson, or the great-grandson, of the Maormor Macduff, of 1056; and the grandson, or great-grandson, of Gillimichael, was *Eoin mor na Vamh*, "Mickle John of the Cave." We mention this to shew, that Gaelic was the language spoken in Fife at this period, or about 1220. *Vamh*, or *Vamb*, has been corrupted to Weem, or Weems; now changed to Wemyss. The

remarkable caves which give rise to this name and title, are situated on the south coast of Fife, near to Wemyss Castle, and to an ancient stronghold of the earls of Fife, which is supposed to have been inhabited by the maormor.—The successor of Gillimichael was Duncan, *comes*, who is witness to sundry charters of David I. and Malcolm IV. He died in 1154. His second son, Shaw, obtained lands in the north from Malcolm IV. A descendant of Shaw, toward the end of the 13th century, became chief of Clan Chattan, by marrying the only daughter of Gilpatric Macdougall, *mhic Gillichattan*, and assumed the name of *MacToiseach*, “The son of the chief,” now changed to MacIntosh.—Several gentlemen of the name of Duff are believed to be of the lineage of the maormor; and Shaw, the second son of Duncan, *comes*, above mentioned, is supposed to have been the ancestor of Duff of Dipple, (the present Earl of Fife, an Irish and a British peer,) and of other gentlemen of the name of Duff, in the north of Scotland.—We shall conclude our remarks upon this period of our history, with observing, that though much has been done, during the last fifty years, to elucidate our antiquities and early annals, particularly by Hailes, Roy, Pinkerton, and Chalmers, still much remains to be accomplished. Putting aside the fables that stain the pages of our old historians, the difficulties to be removed are so numerous, that great perseverance and circumspection are required in the investigation. Some of the oldest charters produced, have been proven to be forgeries, by able writers; authentic documents are sometimes mutilated, while the language is often barbarous; and the contractions of words are so frequent,

that it is often perplexing to discover the true interpretation.

We were at the ancient castle of Glammis, of old the residence of Malcolm II. and of his successor, "the gracious Duncan" of Shakespeare, when it occurred to us to review that portion of Scottish history, which includes the reigns of Malcolm II., Duncan, Macbeth, and Lulach, personages that are dimly discerned through the doubtful light which is afforded in the dawn of history, by meagre chronicles. These, however, with slight notices by the writers of neighbouring nations, are the only authorities upon which reliance can be placed, as Scotland had no historian of her own for 300 years after the death of Lulach; and, in the course of that time, as formerly mentioned, the language, manners, and customs of the Lowlands had undergone a complete change. Unfortunately, Fordun, the father of Scottish history, was credulous; and, instead of seeking information at the legitimate sources, he contented himself with relating monkish legends or vague traditions, in which he was followed by succeeding writers down to the middle of the 17th century. At length, Sir Robert Gordon of Straloch couched his lance. About 1650, he wrote some tracts on our antiquities, and he has the merit of being the first *Scottish* author who expressed his disbelief of the fables related by Fordun, Boece, and Buchanan. But little progress was made, during that century, in illustration of our early annals; every study which did not relate to religion was regarded as superfluous, if not profane; and Pinkerton imagines, that this fanaticism originated in the extreme penury of the country, as they who are miserable in this life, naturally turn all their views to another.

Be this as it may, nothing, upon the subject of Scottish antiquities, of much importance, appeared till the 18th century. It is much to be regretted, that the great dramatist had no better authorities to follow, regarding Macbeth, than Holinshed and Boece; and, that the fables of the latter should have received the stamp of immortality from the pen of Shakespeare. The bard was not to blame; and, though the verisimilitude be less, it is consolatory, that the merit of the tragedy cannot be impaired. But the sober truth of history disdains meretricious ornament, and refuses to hold intercourse with fiction.—We have also made some remarks upon the reign of Malcolm III. as we think Lord Hailes mistaken respecting some particulars connected with that period. It has been our study, either to produce the authorities upon which our notices have been founded, or to refer to them, in order that the reader might be able to form his own opinion. We now resume our topographical description.

Upon Denoon Law, in the parish of Glammis, there are the remains of a Pictish fort, already described. Below the fort, upon the north side of the hill, there are several parallel terraces, similar to those met with in different parts of Scotland. The terrace hill, in the parish of Newlands, and shire of Peebles, was formerly noticed; and also the terrace hill at Markinch, in Fife, which Colonel Miller supposes to have been a Roman camp, and the place where the 9th legion of Agricola was attacked in the night by the Caledonians.—*Paper lately read to the Antiq. Soc. of Scot.* Various have been the opinions regarding the purposes for which such terraces have been formed; but, in nothing do they resemble a Roman camp, either as it is described

in the pages of Polybius and Heginus, or as it is to be seen, in the intrenchments of that people, in North Britain. Similar terraces are found near the tops of several hills in Tweeddale, and also in the north of Fife. The Rev. Mr Small, Edenshead, thinks they were formed by the Romans, in imitation of the Coliseum at Rome : We suppose, however, that they were not the work of Roman hands, because similar terraces are met with in different parts of Scotland, where the wings of the Roman eagle were never spread. In ancient times, every assembly of the people, whether for religious rites or civil purposes, was held *sub divo*, “ under the canopy of heaven ;” and, at a later period, every baron had his moot-hill, where justice was administered in the open air. Parallel terraces are found near the ancient hill-forts of the early inhabitants, and also near the *raths*, or castles, of succeeding times, and, in some cases, upon the sides of moot-hills. It is probable, therefore, that they belong to different periods, and that they might be formed for different ends ; but the meadow below the terrace hill, at Markinch, is still called *the play-field*, and indicates their general purpose, which we conclude to have been the accommodation of an assemblage of the people of the district, to witness spectacles or plays, athletic sports, tournaments, and archery.—*Peblis to the Play ; Christ’s Kirk on the Green*. At Bochastle, near Callender of Menteith, there is a terrace 60 paces in length, with the appearance of two tiers of seats, and butts at each end of it.—*Caled.* vol. i. p. 470. The formation of these terraces, without the use of mathematical instruments, has been thought wonderful ; and, upon trying them with a fine spirit-level, we have been surprised to find them so

accurately adjusted and parallel; but mathematical science, like every other, is, or ought to be, founded on common sense; and several simple expedients might be adopted to attain the object in view. We remember seeing a road, that, by an illiterate countryman, was carried down a steep and difficult bank, with all the skill of an expert engineer; and, upon his explanation of the manner in which he went to work, it appeared, that he had acted upon principles strictly scientific, though, like Mr Walter Shandy, he did not know the names of his tools.

We shall now descend to Meigle, and examine the remarkable pillars in the churchyard. This monument seems to have been originally composed of many stones, artfully joined; it now consists of several upright pillars, adorned with emblematical figures, which are generally of a monstrous kind, and denoting acts of violence on the person of a woman. This grand sepulchral monument is supposed to have been erected in honour of Vanora, the unfaithful queen of the British Arthur, and it is believed to cover her remains. It certainly has long borne her name. About two miles south-west from Meigle, on the road to Cupar-Angus, there is an upright pillar, called the Stone of Arthur; near it is the House of Arthurstone, and a farm called Arthur's Fold. These memorials of the British hero in the vicinity of Meigle, are supposed to be connected with the monument of Vanora; but the manner has not been explained. On one of the pillars in the churchyard are three small crosses, with several animals above and below. On another, there is a cross, adorned with various flowers, and the rude representations of fishes, beasts, and men on horseback. On a third is an

open chariot, drawn by two horses, and some persons in it: behind is a wild beast, devouring a human form, lying prostrate on the earth. On a fourth is an animal, resembling an elephant. On another are several figures, with the bodies of horses, and the heads of serpents; and, on the reverse, is the figure of a woman, attacked on all sides by dogs, and other furious animals; above which are several persons on horseback, with hounds, engaged in the chase; and, in the compartment below, is a centaur, and a serpent, of enormous size, fastened on the mouth of a bull.—Playfair's *Descrip. of Scot.* vol. i. p. 487. Other stones belonging to this monument have been carried off, or broken in pieces, by the inhabitants. “One,” says Pinkerton, “forms the lintel over the door of the clergyman's garden, which has upon one side cattle, and a deer seized by a dog, and, on the other, salmon, and other fish; but the latter have been almost erased by a barbarous modern chisel.” On one of the pillars, which is 8 feet high, and 3 feet 3 inches broad, standing upright in a socket, is a cross. In the middle are several figures, with the bodies of horses or camels, and the heads of serpents, on each side of which are wild beasts and reptiles, considerably defaced. Pinkerton says, “The most curious is that representing a lady riding in a British car, with a single horse and a driver; and which a respectable gentleman in the neighbourhood has ordered to be defended by an iron railing.” Drawings of these pillars are to be found in Pennant's *Tour*, in Cordiner's *Antiquities*, and in Gordon's *Iter. Sept.* Pennant's are too diminutive, and Cordiner's are perverted by some fantastic ideas which he entertained regarding the picturesque; while Gordon's are rude and inaccurate.—Pinkerton's *Scot.* vol. i. 11.

We prefer quoting authorities for what is, or was, formerly to be seen on these remarkable stones, as many of the sculptures which are mentioned by different writers escaped our observation. That this, the finest, perhaps, of all the Pictish monuments, should have been erected in honour of a wicked woman, who had been taken captive, appears to us to be improbable. The story is, that Vanora, who is also called Wanor and Guinevar, was taken prisoner, after a battle between Arthur and the united forces of the Scots and Picts, when she was carried into Angus, and lived some time, in miserable captivity, in the fort on Barry Hill. The character of Vanora has been drawn in the blackest colours. She has been represented as one who had led a lascivious life, and held an unlawful correspondence with Modred, a Pictish king, which provoked the jealousy of her husband, and excited him to take up arms in revenge of the injury. As a punishment of her enormous crimes, it is added, she was torn in pieces by wild beasts; her body was buried at Meigle, where a monument was erected to perpetuate her infamy.—Bellenden's *Boece*, fo. lxviii.; Pennant's *Tour*, vol. ii. p. 177-8; *Stat. Acco.* vol. i. p. 506; Forsyth's *Beauties of Scot.* vol. i. p. 327. To rescue from infamy the name of this unfortunate queen, it is only necessary to state, that she never existed. The whole story rests on the authority of Boece; and the fable was probably suggested to him by the symbolic characters on the stones of this monument at Meigle. Even Buchanan rejects this fabrication, though he retails many of the fictions of Boece. The history of Arthur himself, as related by Buchanan, appears to be fabulous, from beginning to end. This historian has a long chapter concerning the British hero, and Lothus, a king of the Picts; yet there

never was a Lothus, king of the Picts, nor a Modred, as may be seen, by examining any one of the lists of these kings, of whom five catalogues are preserved, viz. 1. By Fordun, 1385; 2. By Winton, 1410; 3. Lynch's *Cata.* from an Irish translation of *Nennius*; 4. *Cata.* by Father Innes, from *Reg. of St And.* 1251; and, 5. *Chronicon Reg. Pictorum*, pub. by Innes, and which may be seen in Pinkerton's Appendix to his *Inquiry*. It is evident that Buchanan has taken more trouble in polishing his periods, than in consulting authorities. Every body has heard of the renown of Arthur; and as North Britain is supposed to have been the scene of many of his achievements, which are also mixed up with the history of the Picts, it seems proper that, having disposed of Vanora, we should also say something concerning him in this place. Besides Arthurstone, already mentioned, two different places bear his name, in the country included in the Map of the Basin of the Tay; namely, a rock called Arthur's Seat, on the north side of the hill of Dunbarrow, in Dunnichen parish, Forfarshire; and Glen-Artney, in Perthshire, through which the Ruchil flows. *Glen-Artney*, or *Arten*, in Gaelic, signifies Glen-Arthur.

Arthur is supposed to have been a king of the Cambrian, or Welsh Britons; and, according to the author of *Caledonia*, he was chosen *Pendragon* in the year 508, and received his death wound at the battle of Camlan, 542. A dragon is a kind of winged serpent, an imaginary animal, which makes a great figure in the romances of the middle ages; and from which is derived the modern term Dragoon,* a name first given, by the

* Dr Johnson is mistaken respecting the origin of the word Dragoon, which he derives from the German *Dragen*, to carry.

persecuted protestants, to the cavalry of Lewis XIV. after the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, 1685. Why Arthur was called *Pendragon*, or chief dragon, is not explained. Chalmers observes, "That the fame of Arthur seems to brighten, as inquiry dispels the doubts of scepticism, and archaiology establishes the certainties of truth."—*Caled.* vol. i. p. 244. Archaiology is a discourse on antiquity; but we do not see that the discourse on this personage, by the author of *Caledonia*, has established any certainty concerning the terrible *Pendragon*; or that Whitaker's *Morte Arthur* has elicited scintillations sufficiently bright to enable us to discover the awful form of the hero, amid the darkness in which he is involved. We are sorry to find our scepticism confirmed by inquiry, for we have been much amused with the Arthur of romance. Besides the author of *Caledonia*, and Whitaker, Hume, the historian, believes that Arthur existed; while Milton, Gibbon, and Pinkerton, think him a nonentity. The authorities upon which our faith is to be placed, are chiefly furnished by the topography of North Britain; and though the places which bear the name of Arthur be numerous, and some of them comparatively ancient, we agree with Pinkerton, in thinking, that they derive their origin from the Arthur of romance. In the year 1239, there was a grant, by David de Lindsay, to the monks of Newbottle, of the lands of Brothralwyn, in the parish of Crawford, Lanarkshire; which lands are described as being bounded on the west side, *a fonte Arthuri, usque ad summitatem montis*, "from the fountain of Arthur, even to the summit of the mountain."—*Chart. Newbottle*, No. 148. This is the oldest authority which has been produced, to establish the entity of

Arthur; but it only shews, that, before 1239, a well in Clydesdale bore his name. Unfortunately, this date is about 700 years after the time in which he is supposed to have lived; and, during that period, ignorance and superstition were predominant; while implicit credence was given to monkish legends, and tales of romance were readily believed, whether they regarded a dragon or a *pendragon*. The Welsh poets assign a palace to Arthur among the Strathclyde Britons, at *Pen-rhyn-Ryoneth*.* We have no doubt, that by *Rhyn-Ryoneth*, is meant the point of Cardross; and by *Pen-rhyn-Ryoneth*, is meant Dunbarton Castle. It is certain that this castle was called *Castrum Arthuri*, “the Castle of Arthur,” some time before the reign of David II.—*Parl. Rec.* of 1367; *MSS. Reg. Ho. Pap. Off.* The Goths, during the sixth century, were troublesome neighbours to the Britons. If Arthur had left his own country to sojourn in Scotland, it is likely that the Saxons would not have failed to embrace the opportunity of paying a visit to Wales; and it is probable, that such an incident would have cured the *Pendragon* of the fancy of absenteeism: but the palace assigned to Arthur, at *Pen-rhyn-Ryoneth*, appears to be altogether fabulous; and the Welsh poets are not authorities to be trusted. Urien was the most famous of all the kings of Cumbria, or Cumberland: he is supposed to have lived about 560, and at his court are said to have flourished the three great bards, Taliesin, Aneurin, and Llywarch Hen. The specimens of their poetry given by Evans, are all in rhyme, which was a monkish invention of the middle ages. We know

* *Pen*, a head. *Rhyn*, a point. This castle is bifurcated. *Ryoneth*, in British, has the same meaning as Cardross in Gaelic, and signifies a fortified promontory.

of no authentic poetry in rhyme older than the eleventh century; and we agree with Pinkerton, in thinking, that the specimens produced are spurious, and probably forgeries of the thirteenth century. The Welsh triads seem to be of the same dubious character. The history of Wales, before 600, is mere fable; and the language first appears in writing in the laws of Howel Dha, in the tenth century.—Pinkerton's *Inquiry*, vol. i. p. 134, *et passim*. We know that Dunbarton was called Theodosia, in 426. The castle was strongly fortified, in the year 367, by Theodosius, the famous general of the Roman Emperor, Valentinian I. and the father of the Emperor Theodosius I. This great commander gave it the name of Theodosia; but, by the Gael of the Highlands, it was called *Balclutha*. Adomnan was elected abbot of Hyona, 679: in his *Life of Columba*, he calls Dunbarton *Petra Cloithe*, the Rock of Clyde. Bede, in 731, calls it *Alcluith*, which has the same meaning with *Petra Cloithe*, and *Balclutha*. Simeon of Durham, in 756, calls Dunbarton *Alcluith*; and this name can be traced down to the twelfth century. Sometimes it is called *Caer Alclud*, and *Dunclide*. Fordun, in 1385, says, *Alnecluid, sive Alclide, quæ et nunc Dunbretan nuncupatur*, “Alnecluid, or Alclide, and which is now called Dunbreton.”—*Fordun*, ii. 29. Dunbreton, signifies the Fort of the Britons; namely, of Strathclyde. Dunbreton seems, for the sake of euphony, to have been changed to Dunbarton. The Scotch parliamentary record before-mentioned, only shews, that the Welsh fiction of Arthur having occasionally resided in the Castle of Dunbarton, was believed to be a true story by David II.; or, that the fame and character of the Arthur of romance, was greatly admired in North

Britain, before 1367. In like manner, it was believed, during the middle ages, that Arthur held his feasts of the Round Table at Stirling Castle. William of Worcester says, *Rex Arthurus custodiebat le Round Table in castro de Styrlyng, aliter Snowdon-west-castell*, that is, "King Arthur kept the Round Table in the castle of Stirling, otherwise Snowdon-west-castle." — *Itin.* p. 311. *Snua-dun*, in Gaelic, signifies "The fortified hill on the river," and was a name undoubtedly applied to Stirling Castle, by the Celtic inhabitants, without any reference to Snowdon, in Wales, or to Arthur. At Paisley, we find the Sneddon, which clearly is the same *Snua-dun*; and the origin of the name, is from the Roman fort upon the water of Cart. In the parish of Neilston, Renfrewshire, we still find *Arthur-lee*, the name of a gentleman's house. There is a hill called Arthur's Seat, or Ben-Arthur, that is situated between Loch Lomond and the head of Loch Long. Arthur's Oven bore that name as early as the reign of Alexander III. as appears from a grant by William Gurlay, to the monks of Newbottle, dated 1293. — *Chart. Newb.* No. 239. This building was situated about two miles west from Grangemouth, upon the Water of Carron, and has been the subject of much learned disquisition; but we are not aware that any antiquary has ascribed its erection to the British Arthur, or supposed that the *Pendragon* ever had any concern with it. Arthur's Seat, near Edinburgh, is said, by Pinkerton, to be a name of yesterday; but in this he is mistaken: that most beautiful hill bore the name of Arthur's Seat, before the publication of Camden's *Britannia*, in 1585, see p. 478; and before the publication of Major, in 1521, as appears in fol. 28. The author of *Caledonia* is of

opinion, that this hill bore the name of *Arthur's Sate*, before the end of the fifteenth century, and quotes *Kennedy's flyting with Dunbar*, in Ramsay's *Evergreen*, vol ii. p. 65. Upon turning up a copy of the *Evergreen*, printed at Edinburgh, in 1761, we see no reason to suppose this *Flyting* to be older than the sixteenth century. Dunbar's *Dregy*, is said to have been "made to King James V. in Stirling Castle."—p. 41. This must have been after 1513; notwithstanding, Chalmers is probably right, for the name of the hill seems, at that time, to be quite familiar,—

————— thou sall be brint
With pik, tar, fyre, gun-powder and lint,
On Arthur-Sate, or ony hicher hill.

We have met with no document, in which it is distinguished by the name of Arthur's Seat, that can be supposed older than the reign of James IV. As this gallant monarch delighted in chivalry, and was partial to the tales of minstrels, so he was also a great admirer of Arthur, and his Round Table; and we think it probable, that the name was given to this romantic hill by James IV. in honour of Arthur, on account of the tilts and tourneys held in its vicinity; and the name would readily be adopted, in compliment to a prince so generally beloved.

Barbour and Winton, were well acquainted with the Arthur of romance. At a later period, Sir David Lindsay, in his *Complaynt of the Papingo*, makes her take leave of Stirling Castle thus:—

Adew fair Snowdown with thy towris hie,
Thy chapell royall, park, and *tabyll round*.

And in his *Dreme*, he mentions his having diverted James V. when young, with "antique stories and deidis martiall,"—

Of Hector, Arthur, and gentle Julius,
Of Alexander, and worthy Pompeius.

By this we see, that Sir David Lindsay reckons Arthur among the most celebrated heroes of antiquity. The oldest of these authorities, being later than the era of the *Pendragon* by 700 years, proves nothing; and, altogether, they only shew that the Arthur of romance had become famous by the end of the twelfth century. Nennius wrote, A. D. 858, or 316 years after the *Pendragon* is said to have fallen in the battle of Camlan, in 542; yet he makes no mention of this hero; for, the chapter concerning Arthur is an addition, and inserted after the words, *Hic expliciunt gesta Britonum, a Nennio conscripta*, “Here are unfolded the affairs of the Britons, written by Nennius.” This circumstance seems to have escaped Whitaker, who did not observe that the chapter on Arthur is an addition taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth, who wrote about 1150, an author whose work is filled with fables, and who, probably, is the father of the Arthur of romance. Bede wrote about 190 years after the fall of the *Pendragon*, but makes no mention of him. This hero was unknown to Gildas, the first British author, and whose work is the chief authority for the times in which he lived: yet he must have been a contemporary of the supposed Arthur; for he tells us, chap. 26, that he was born in the year of the battle of Badon, that is, in 520, and he wrote, as he there says, 40 years after it, or in 560. In the *Life of Gildas*, published by Mabillon, from a MS. in the library of Fleury Abbey, it is mentioned, that Gildas was born at Arclyd, (Alclyd,) or Dunbritton; and that his father Caunus, (Caw, or Cawn,) was king of that country, (Strathclyde,) and was succeeded by his son Hoel.

According to the *Welsh Triads*, this Hoel, or Houail, was driven from his kingdom by the *Pendragon*, who conquered the Strathclyde Britons, and afterward occasionally resided in his palace, at *Pen-rhyn-Ryoneth*, or Dunbarton Castle, where Gildas was born, and where his father and his brother had reigned. If Arthur had performed the feats ascribed to him, between 508 and 542, to us it appears incredible, that Gildas would not have mentioned them; but he takes no notice of such a personage, and his silence satisfies us that Arthur never existed.—*Art-uir*, (Arthur,) in British, signifies the Chief, or Great-man; and appears to have been a name given, by the Welsh, to Aurelius Ambrosius, their Roman defender against the Saxons.—Gildas, chap. 25. Bede says, Aurelius Ambrosius was the last of the Romans by birth, that reigned in Britain.—Bede, i. 16. We were led to make inquiry concerning Arthur and Vanora, from the sculptured pillars at Meigle being supposed to be the monument of the British queen. That this was one of the fictions of Boece, we never doubted; but, when we entered upon the inquiry, it was with the impression, that Arthur was not altogether an imaginary being; though we could not understand how Scotland should have been the place of his sojourn, at a time when the Welsh could hardly maintain their ground against the Saxons. When we consulted the authors who believed in the existence of Arthur, we were surprised to find the evidence of his entity so deficient; and, as the subject is curious, we have quoted the passages, or referred to the authorities, from which our conclusion is drawn. It remains, that we make a few observations on the Pictish monuments.

In various parts of Scotland, but chiefly on the east side, from the river Tay to the county of Sutherland, there are found singular erect stones, generally with crosses on one side, and upon the other sculptures, which are far from being ill executed for a barbarous age. These chiefly abound in the county of Angus, which may be regarded as the centre of Pictavia; but the most remarkable are certainly those to be seen at Meigle, already described. At Essie, between Glamis and Meigle, there is a pillar of the same kind, on which is represented a hunting match. This stone is now placed in the wall of the churchyard. There is one at Glamis, on which are sculptured deer and cattle; and on the reverse, salmon and other fish. Pinkerton is of opinion, that these point to the *sources* of wealth of the distinguished persons to whose memory they were erected; but we cannot agree with him in thinking this probable. In Pictish times, and long afterward, there was no wealth in Scotland, in the shape of money. The riches of the country did consist of cattle and deer, horses, and perhaps bee-hives, with the rude produce of the soil; but the fisheries were neglected before the arrival of the Saxons, in the beginning of the 12th century; and at no period could a lord of Glamis have acquired wealth by the salmon that could be taken in Dean Water. Under the salmon, on the pillar last mentioned, is a mirror, which always indicates a female. On a stone which was found at Dunnichen there is a mirror, and also a comb. The same symbols occur on another, of which an engraving may be seen in Cordiner's *Picturesque Antiquities*; and on which is also represented a lady riding out to hunt, with two footmen blowing horns, and two other attendants on horse-

back. The sculptured pillar at Glamis may perhaps have been erected in honour of Malcolm II. or to the memory of his queen. The fables told by Pennant, and others, have been formerly noticed. A number of these pillars bear the names of saints, in honour of whom they seem to have been erected. At Cossens, about a mile north-east from Glamis Castle, there is St Orland's Stone, on which symbolical characters are rudely delineated. Five miles north-west from Dundee, in the north end of the parish of Strathmartin, there is a large upright pillar, called St Martin's Stone : there is another at the west gate of the churchyard, with the figures of two serpents carved upon it. The stone near Newburgh, called Cross Macduff, seems to have formerly borne the name of St Macgriddel, or Macgirdle, and it may have been erected in honour of that saint. At Baldowrie, in the vicinage of Cupar Angus, and about a mile east of Halyburton House, there is an upright pillar, standing 6 feet above the ground ; but the rude sculpture is almost defaced. Four miles south-west from Cupar Angus, in a field near the village of Cargill, there is a religious monument, consisting of upright stones, whereon are carved the moon and stars. — One of the most interesting of the Pictish monuments was discovered about 30 years ago, at Pitmachie, in Aberdeenshire, being the second stage from Aberdeen on the road to Huntly. In a small thicket near the road were two pillars, standing 6 feet above the ground, and composed of small-grained granite, while the soil in the vicinity rests upon red sand-stone. Various symbolical figures are carved on these pillars ; but the stone on which a serpent is sculptured has now been removed to the adjacent House of Newton. Upon the

one which remains there is an inscription, of which a copy, reduced from a fac-simile of the original, may be seen in the beginning of the first volume of Pinkerton's *Inquiry into the Early History of Scotland*. This curious inscription is believed to be unique ; and though it has been submitted to the learned for a considerable time, we have heard of no antiquary who has attempted an exposition of its meaning. It consists of six lines ; the letters are about an inch and a half in length, and they are cut to the depth of about a quarter of an inch. The second line having exceeded the breadth of the stone, the rude carver had brought a letter or two over the angle, and seemingly to avoid this in future, he had begun the other lines over the angle, on the left hand. The characters bear some resemblance to the Anglo-Saxon, as given by Hicks ; especially those of the coins of Northumbria, of the 9th century.—The last we shall mention is a sculptured stone, preserved at Freeland House, the seat of Lord Ruthven, Strathearn, Perthshire. It had been rolled down by the water of May, as well as several other carved stones which now adorn the walls of cottages in the vicinity of Forteviot. The one preserved at Freeland House appears to have been placed over a door, being of a semicircular form. In the middle are two figures in a sitting posture, and beneath are cattle and other sculptures. It is probable that these stones belonged to the palace on Haly Hill, situated immediately south of the church of Forteviot, and a favourite residence of the Pictish kings.

In examining these Pictish monuments, and particularly at Meigle, we were struck with the centaurs, and other monstrous combinations, displayed in the sculptures ; and also with the representations of camels,

elephants, and various animals, not indigenous to Britain, and which we cannot suppose were ever seen by the workmen that carved these stones. Monstrous combinations are frequently found among sculptures and pictures of the Egyptians, and other early nations, as well as among the Greek and Roman remains. Those combinations, and polytheism itself, have, by learned men, been supposed to originate in the symbolic representations of the Deity, connected with the incarnation of the *Logos*, or *Word*, and which were exhibited to our first parents immediately after the Fall, in the shape of cherubim. After the Deluge, it can be shewn, that cherubim were not unknown to the descendants of Noah, who re-peopled the earth; and they appear to have been conjoined with sacrificature, which was practised by all nations, and by every tribe of mankind. The *Teraphim* seem to have consisted of the same figures upon a small scale; and from them the *Dii Lares*, and *Penates*, the hearth and household gods of the ancients, are supposed to have been derived. It appears probable that the first errors in religion were induced by mistaking symbols for realities. The different emblematical figures exhibited in the cherubim, being worshipped as idols, conjointly or separately, according to the gross fancies of men, superstition afterward produced the monstrous and disgusting combinations found in the sculptures and paintings of antiquity. The tradition of the serpent being instrumental in the fall of man, and of his head being to be bruised in the restoration, &c. may also be traced in the early sculptures of various tribes. The story of Python, a serpent shot to death by Apollo, is referred to this source. The face of a bull was the first figure in the cherubim; and a bull is sometimes,

by way of eminence, called a cherub. There was no idol so generally worshipped as the bull. Every body has heard of the Egyptian apis, Aaron's calf, and Jero-boam's sin. Baal was a heifer, probably double, for it is often written in the plural, Baalim. A black bull is to this day worshipped in Tanjore, in India; and the bull was anciently worshipped in western Europe. When Marius conquered the Cimbri, there was found among the spoils a brazen bull, the god of the Cimbri. Baal, under the names of Bel, Belis, and Beal, was also the god of the Babylonians. Bel, or Beal, was the object of Druidical adoration; and there is abundant evidence that Druidism was the ancient superstition of North Britain.—These reflections occurred when we observed, on the monument at Meigle, a monstrous serpent fastened to the mouth of a bull. Throughout all the Pictish sculptures a serpent is commonly introduced. A symbol almost constantly appears of two circles joined, and crossed by another badge, resembling two sceptres connected by a cross line. Sometimes there are two circles, with a large one between them; and sometimes a serpent is surmounted by the emblems supposed to be sceptres. These symbols occur both in the male and female monuments; and Pinkerton thinks they denote the royal race, which he supposes to have been numerous among the Picts; but the badge mentioned did not appear to us to resemble sceptres; and we believe that the sceptre was a cognizance of royalty unknown to the Pictish kings. The double and triple circles, the double badge, serpent, &c. we suppose had some superstitious reference; and it is curious that they much resemble symbols found on the monuments of the ancient Egyptians. It appears from

the sculptures and paintings found in the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii, that, during the first century, the Romans were partial to monstrous combinations. In the following century, they held the province of Vespasiana, which included Pictland, for 30 years; and we agree with Pinkerton, in thinking it not unlikely, that the centaurs, and other monstrous representations, with the elephants, and various foreign animals, may have passed from the Roman masons to their native apprentices, and thus have descended with the craft, as the skulls of bulls used in ancient sacrifices continue to mark certain parts of modern architecture. Yet the subject is difficult. The Romans lost Vespasiana, A. D. 170; and the neighbouring province of Valencia, in 409, when they left Britain. The southern Picts were converted in 412; and the northern in 565. The crosses to be seen on many of these monuments shew that they cannot be older than the 5th century, when some knowledge of Christianity had been introduced. The conversion of this people seems indeed to have been of a very dubious character; for there is not a single Pictish saint, or churchman of any kind, on record. This may perhaps explain why crosses are to be seen on some of the monuments, and on the reverse, monstrous combinations, so repugnant to the feelings of Christians. Ninian and Columba were only visitants; but it seems probable that churchmen from Hyona and Strathclyde would be allowed to settle in Pictavia, from the 5th century downward. In the course of two or three hundred years, masonry, if ever it had been learned from the Romans, appears to have been lost, and the craft extirpated. The first church in Pictland was founded at Abernethy, about 600, by Nethan II.

and seems to have been constructed of wood ; for, in 715, we find Nethan III. desiring architects to be sent from Northumberland, to build him a church of stone. But, though masonry was lost, the knowledge of sculpture may have been preserved, as we find this art rudely practised by barbarous nations. The monuments we have described were probably erected at different periods of the monarchy, in honour of kings and queens, and other eminent persons, while some of the sculptured pillars seem to belong to the Scottish race, and may not be older than the 10th or 11th century. No such monuments have been found in Wales, or in Ireland, “ which of itself,” says Pinkerton, “ affords an invincible argument that the Picts were of a distinct origin.” The argument is well worthy of consideration ; but it is not conclusive. If the sculptures passed from Roman masons to their native apprentices, as he himself suggests, it must be remembered, that the Romans never were in Ireland ; and, after the conquest of South Britain, a few garrisons only were maintained in Wales, while the legions were stationed either on the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus, or to the northward of them.

In the parish of Bendochy, and two miles north of Cupar Angus, in an elevated field near Cupar Grange, a repository of ashes was discovered about twenty years ago. It was of a circular form, fenced with a wall of moor-stone, about five feet in height, and the bottom was paved with coarse flags. There was an outer and an inner circle of stones, distant from each other 9 feet, and the diameter of the inner circle was 60 feet. The space between the walls was filled with ashes of wood, chiefly oak, and with fragments of bones. The surface

of the field was two feet above the ashes and the tops of the walls. The entry was from the north-west, and 10 or 12 feet in breadth; thence a path 6 feet broad, and paved with small stones, stretched eastward, across the area, to a large upright freestone between the walls, supported by other stones at the bottom. The large upright stone was flat on the upper part, and two feet square. Another repository of ashes, of the same kind and dimensions, was discovered at the distance of 300 paces. From the number of oak trees which were dug out of the ground in that neighbourhood, it would appear that this field was anciently a grove; and there can be no doubt, that the repositories of ashes, with the large upright stone above described, mark the situation of Druidical altars and an oratory, while the temple was the deep recess of an oaken grove. There are numerous Druidical remains to be seen in the country included in the Map of the Basin of the Tay, and particularly in Perthshire. In noticing these, we may revert to that ancient superstition.

In the parish of Collace, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-east from Perth, is Dunsinnan Hill, on which anciently stood the castle of Macbeth. This hill is of a conical form, rising 1024 feet above the medium level of the sea, and may readily be distinguished from the neighbouring dusky heights, by the green sward which clothes its summit. It is one of those that form the range called Sidla Hills, extending, in a north-east direction, from the Crag of Kinnoul, near Perth, to the promontory of Red Head, which juts into the German Ocean, about half-way between the towns of Arbroath and Montrose. The Sidla Hills, which are of moderate elevation, run parallel to the Grampian Mountains, and between these

ranges lies Strathmore, one of the finest portions of North Britain, while, upon the south-east of the Sidla range are the beautiful *Braes*, that, on one side, bound the Carse of Gowrie; and to the eastward is the fertile country, that stretches from the vicinage of Dundee to the Red Head. Dunsinnan Hill is in some measure detached from the Sidla ridge, and, from its insulated position, it was well calculated for being strongly fortified: in ancient times it might have been rendered impregnable; but, in our days, it would be commanded by artillery, from the shoulder of the hill, immediately to the eastward. The hill of Dunsinnan is precipitous on all sides, except toward the north-west; and even here, the ancient approach to the castle must have had a steep ascent. There is no appearance, indicating that a carriage way had ever been formed between the esplanade and the outer rampart, though such a road may have been destroyed at the time the castle was demolished; and in the lapse of 773 years, all traces of it might be obliterated. From the bottom of the steep ascent, on the north-west side, a path may still be found, leading from the village of Collace. After examining a druidical altar, at a short distance east from the seat of Ballindirran, and visiting *Lang Man's Grave*, we ascended the south side of this far-famed hill, clambering among the rocks like goats; but we felt so strongly that we were treading on classic ground, that we mounted to the summit with the elastic step of early life. Here we found a spacious and level area, 210 feet from east to west, by 130 in breadth, and of an oval shape, being somewhat narrower at the western than at the eastern extremity. The section across the area, and the various incisions made by Dr

Playfair, to discover the state and nature of the rampart, are still palpable. It appears that Macbeth had fortified the whole of this space with a strong wall of stone, cemented with red mortar. "Penetrating horizontally seven yards into the ruins of this rampart," says Dr Playfair, "I lately discovered a part of it as entire as when it was originally constructed. Founded on the rock, it is neatly built of large stones. If the rubbish on the outside were removed, this would be one of the most remarkable monuments of antiquity in Britain. At the foot of that wall there was a level walk of considerable breadth, and 231 yards in circuit, secured by a parapet and ditch. Having diligently explored the area of the fortress, now three feet below the surface, and cut a deep trench across it, I found no vestige of buildings in it; so the temporary houses were probably composed of wood. In one corner, great quantities of charcoal, bones of black cattle, sheep,*

* If the learned Doctor did not mistake the bones of sheep for those of deer, or some other animal, this would prove that sheep-farming had been introduced into Scotland in the days of Macbeth. We are aware, that an ancient breed of sheep, the remains of which are still to be found in the central Highlands, Shetland, &c. are by many supposed to be indigenous. We have read somewhere, that the wool of the sheep of the Hebudes, or Western Isles, of Scotland, was so fine, that it was bought up by foreign merchants, and exported, for the purpose of being wrought into vestments for the Roman emperors; but in what age we forget. It is many years since we read this, and the name of the author has also escaped our memory. In our late inquiries, we have met with no document which shews that sheep were indigenous to Scotland; or that they existed in this country, previous to the arrival of the Saxons. Dio, indeed, mentions sheep and oxen, in his account of the expedition of Severus into Caledonia; but Dio is very doubtful authority. We incline to

and hares, were dug up, but none of the human body.” —Prin. Playfair’s *Descrip. of Scot.* vol. i. p. 488, pub. 1819. No appearance of a well has hitherto been discovered in this fortress: a cistern, or tank, had probably supplied the garrison with water. The original height of the rampart cannot be ascertained; but, from the immense mass of ruins remaining, that overtop the summit of the hill, it must have been considerable. The entire part of the wall, discovered by Dr Playfair, is still about 6 feet high, and was found in the same state of good preservation around the whole area; having been protected from the injuries of the weather and the waste of time, by a continuous quantity of rubbish, 21 feet in thickness, and consisting of whin stones, sand stones, slates, and mortar. The calcareous matter, mixed with the rubbish, has covered the whole with grassy turf, while the lower parts of the hill are overspread with heath. These parts, we are assured by the proprietor, Mr Nairn of Dunsinnan, are now to be planted, but in such a way as to leave a distinct view of the conical summit, and not a bush will be allowed to disfigure the castle of Macbeth. The outer defences of the fortress consisted of a fosse, which is still of considerable depth; on the south side was an esplanade; while the north-east, and some other parts, were sufficiently protected by steep rocks. Chalmers says, — “ A road which takes the hill, on the north-east

think, that the ancient breed was imported from Denmark. With the exception of an animal that has been supposed to resemble a lamb, on the monument at Auldbar, the figures of sheep are not to be seen among the various animals that are carved on the Pictish monuments, or other ancient sculptures of the North British tribes.

ascends in a slanting direction, crosses the esplanade, and enters the rampart and area on the south-south-west. Another road, which was cut through the rock, went up from the Long Man's Grave in a straight direction, and enters the centre of the esplanade."—*Caled.* vol. i. p. 503, where *Stat. Acco.* and other authorities, are referred to. We examined the whole with attention, but did not discover these roads. There were tracks, indeed, that appeared to be of modern formation, and made by the frequent feet of visitors to the spell-bound height. The author of *Caledonia* speaks slightly of the ruins of Macbeth's castle on Dunsinnan Hill; and he observes, that the appearance exactly resembles the hill-forts of the ancient Britons, by whose hands, he supposes, this strength had also been constructed. But this castle is differently constituted from the hill-forts of the ancient British tribes; none of these have walls built with mortar, or cement of any kind, unless what was in some instances produced by partial vitrification; while here, the wall is built with red mortar, and not a trace of vitrification has been discovered. In other respects it does resemble the hill-forts of the ancient Britons, and it is by no means improbable that they had originally fortified this height; and that Macbeth availed himself of the quantity of stones which formed the rampart of an ancient stronghold, to construct the walls and other defences of this fortress, the ruins of which are so highly interesting, both on account of their connexion with the true history of Macbeth, and also from being hallowed by the pen of Shakespeare. *Dunsinnan* has been supposed to signify the *hill of ants*, implying the great labour and industry requisite for collecting and carrying to such a height the materials of so vast a building. In the Irish

language, which is akin to the Gaelic, *Dun-seangain* does signify the *hill of ants*, and this derivation of Dunsinnan has been thought very apt. Yet, if Macbeth found the stones of an ancient hill-fort ready for his purpose, the labour of constructing the castle would be much lessened. At any rate, we are satisfied that this is not the true derivation. *Dun-sinin*, in Gaelic, signifies a hill resembling a *nipple*; and this hill does resemble, at some distance, what the word describes.—*Caled.* vol. i. p. 414. It is well known, that the ancient Celtæ, in giving appropriate appellations to hills and mountains, commonly marked the diversity of their appearances by names denoting their resemblance to different parts of the human form, or of the bodies of the inferior animals. These appellations were generally adopted by the Saxon inhabitants, and, in some instances, they were translated. Among the mountains in Scotland, several are distinguished by the name of *Maiden Paps*; and, we have no doubt, that, in like manner, *Dunsinnan* received its peculiar appellation. We were delighted with the prospect from the summit of this hill. To the northward, is the fine country of Strathmore, stretching far to the north-east; and the huge Grampians are seen to advantage, from Mount Battock, on the confines of the Mearns, to Ben-Chonzie, that divides Glen-Turret from Glen-Almond, in Perthshire. We particularly noticed *Birnam hill*, and, in the distance, Shihallion is conspicuous. We could distinguish Ben-Gloe in Atholl, and the Benchinnan hills on the borders of Braemar. Turning round, we have a view of part of Strathearn; and, below us, on the south, part of the Carse of Gowrie is seen, with the Lomond Hills in the distance; beyond these, we could discern

the tops of the Pentland Hills, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. But we have lingered too long on this mystic height, and we shall now descend to the parish of St Martins, where, according to tradition, Macbeth had his ordinary residence after he assumed the Scottish sceptre. This tradition is borne out by the vestiges of his castle, still to be seen near a place called Carn Beddie, or Carn Beth, situated about three quarters of a mile north-west of the parish church, and about four miles south-west of Dunsinnan Hill. Carn Beddie, and Carn Beth, appear to be corrupted from *Caer Beda* and *Caer Beth*, the castle of Macbeth, by which name these vestiges are still distinguished by the country people. We suppose that Carn Beddie was the usual residence of Macbeth, while the castle on Dunsinnan Hill was the royal fortress, to which the king and his family could retire on any emergency : as we formerly supposed Cater Thun to have been the royal fortress of the Pictish kings while the seat of their government was at Brechin, and, as it is probable, the castle on Barry Hill was constructed for a secure retreat to the Pictish royal family while they resided at Meigle. The fortress on Dunsinnan Hill is believed to have been besieged, and sacked, by Malcolm Caenmore, in 1057, and it is likely he would demolish the castle at Carn Beddie in the same year.

In 1772, Sir John Sinclair collected the popular traditions of this part of the country respecting Macbeth, and they amounted to this : That after his elevation to the throne, he resided ten years at Carn Beddie. During these times, witchcraft was very prevalent in Scotland ; and two of the most famous witches in the kingdom lived on each hand of Macbeth ; one

at Collace, the other not far from Dunsinnan House, at a place called the Cape. Macbeth, becoming superstitious, applied to them for advice, and by their counsel he built the castle on Dunsinnan Hill; and they warned him to beware "When Birnam wood should come to Dunsinnane." When Malcolm Caenmore came into Scotland, accompanied by English auxiliaries, to supplant Macbeth, the *giant*, he marched first toward Dunkeld, in order to meet with those friends who had promised to join him at that place. In passing Birnam wood, his army were induced, either by way of distinction, or from some other motive, to ornament their bonnets and helmets with green boughs. They were thus distinguished when first observed by the spy whom Macbeth had stationed to watch their motions. Upon being informed of the circumstance, he began to despair, on account of the witches' predictions; and when Malcolm prepared to assault the castle, he forthwith deserted it; and flying, ran up the hill called King's Seat, pursued by Macduff; but finding it impossible to escape, he threw himself from the top of the hill, was killed upon the rocks, and buried at *Lang Man's Grave*. — Forsyth's *Beauties of Scot.* vol. iv. p. 319–21. The value of popular tradition depends, in some measure, upon circumstances; and in this case, they appear to be unfavourable. It is probable, that the talents and enterprize of Malcolm would not have been sufficient to enable him to dethrone Macbeth, who seems to have been popular, and the title of whose queen, the Lady Gruoch, and that of her son Lulach, as formerly shewn, were preferable to the claim of Malcolm to the throne of Scotland; but the prowess of Siward, the potent Earl of Northumberland, and the English auxiliaries,

gave him the superiority, and Macbeth and Lulach were defeated and slain. Malcolm III. was a vigorous monarch, and his descendants were popular princes. To gratify these, many childish fables were fabricated concerning Macbeth; and the stories of his consulting witches, doing murders, &c. were readily swallowed by the vulgar; who, to this day, do not perceive the absurdity implied in a monarch consulting two old hags concerning the place most suitable for him to build a fortress. It has been already stated, that Scotland had no historian for 300 years after the age of Macbeth; and, in the course of that time, the language and manners of the Lowlands having undergone a complete change, our early writers were not only ignorant of the state of society as it existed in North Britain previous to the arrival of the Saxons and Normans, but they were also credulous, and filled their pages with traditive stories and monkish fictions. Yet Wynton has given us a good character of Macbeth, which might be derived, perhaps, from rude verses translated from the Gaelic, and transmitted by oral communication, and preserved in spite of the zeal for Malcolm III. and his descendants. The laws of Macbeth, detailed by Boece, and mentioned by Buchanan, are forgeries, statute law being inconsistent with the manners of that age. Not far from *Lang Man's Grave*, is the road where, according to tradition, Banquo or Bancho was murdered; but this tradition is founded on the fiction of Boece, for Banquo never existed, and Fleance never fled, but across the stage. Under these circumstances, and after the lapse of 700 years, the popular traditions collected by the worthy Baronet, in 1772, cannot be deserving of much regard. Since the

introduction of commerce and manufactures, with an improved system of agriculture, the value of popular tradition has greatly decreased; and unless it be borne out by names of places, or ancient vestiges, it may now be considered the mere gossip of the vulgar. Still it is worth some attention. We met with a sensible old man, who had lived in the neighbourhood of Ballindirran for 80 years, and his father, who died at a great age, told him, concerning *Lang Man's Grave*, that, about the beginning of the last century, an uncommonly tall man from about Dundee side, had been over attending a fair at Scone, and, on his way home, over night, *he put himself down*, that is, he committed suicide,—perhaps he was murdered,—at any rate, he was buried at the place which has since retained the name of *Lang Man's Grave*.

“The resemblance,” says Mr Forsyth, “between the traditions collected by Sir John Sinclair, and Shakespeare’s account of the same event, in his tragedy of *Macbeth*, is extremely remarkable, and suggests the idea that this celebrated dramatist must have collected the tradition upon the spot.”—*Beauties of Scot.* vol. iv. p. 321–2. The resemblance alluded to does not appear to us so remarkable, as to suggest any such idea; and we are satisfied Shakespeare found the story of his drama in Holinshed, who retailed the fictions of Boece. In Guthrie’s *Hist. of Scot.* it is mentioned, that, in 1599, King James desired Queen Elizabeth to send him a company of English comedians, with which request she complied; and James gave them a licence to act in his capital, and before his court. “I have great reason,” he adds, “to think that immortal Shakespeare was of the number.” Guthrie’s *Hist.* vol. viii. p. 350.

His great reason for supposing Shakespeare was among the number of the comedians who visited Scotland in 1599, the historian does not mention, and we have no doubt that it was merely a supposition. If his reason was good, he ought not to have withheld it from the reader, who is entitled to think for himself. Guthrie published his *History of Scotland* in 1767. Of this work the learned Pinkerton says, "It is a mere money-job, hasty, and inaccurate."—Pink. *Intro. to Enquiry*, vol. i. lxxvii. We concur with Pinkerton respecting the character of this work. Plays were actually exhibited at Perth 10 years before James requested Elizabeth to send him a company of comedians. From the records, it appears, that on the 3d of June, 1589, the kirk-session of Perth authorized this amusement, after having examined the copy of the play.—*Stat. Acco.* "That actor and writer of plays," says the Rev. Mr Scott, "most probably began his theatrical excursions before the year 1589. If, therefore, they were English actors who were at Perth that year, he (Shakespeare) might perhaps be one of them." No mention, however, is made in the record of their being English actors; and this would probably have been done if such had been the case. The ministers and elders speak of the players as being all of them men; and are particular with regard to other matters. But it can be shewn, that acting plays was practised in Scotland long before this period, and that it was common in the days of James V. The Roman Catholic religion was abolished in 1560; and, though a sort of episcopacy obtained in the Church of Scotland, from 1572 to 1592, the ecclesiastical form of government "was presbyterian true blue;" and by an act of the General Assembly, made 1574–5, no play could be

acted without a licence from the consistory of the church. This application to the kirk-session of Perth was, of course, made in obedience to the act of Assembly. It does not appear that any company of English actors ever performed in Scotland, antecedently to those who were sent by Elizabeth at the request of James, in 1599: there is no proof that Shakespeare was one of this company; and no reason has been adduced, by Guthrie the historian, in support of his hypothesis, which seems to rest on a frail foundation. That the players were English who acted in Perth in 1589, is a simple supposition; that the great dramatist was of the number seems to be a vain assumption. We have met with no evidence of Shakespeare ever having set his foot in Scotland.

A great battle appears to have been fought upon the Hill of Scone, about two miles north-east from the palace. We suppose this battle commenced about the place where 838 and cross swords are inserted in the Map of the Basin of the Tay, and where numerous traces of slaughter have been discovered; but, though the principal action took place here, the carnage seems to have extended to Derder's Ford, upon the Tay, below the influx of the Almond, and near to a place called Rome. This has generally been supposed to be the scene of the last decisive conflict between the Scots and Picts, in which the latter, after having mustered every man capable of bearing arms, were totally overthrown. "The battle which ensued," says Buchanan, "in this dark necessity, was dark and bloody, but the desperate resistance of the Picts was at length broken, and, forced to fly, the river Tay was the cause of their

final destruction. Druskenus, not being able to effect a passage, was there slain, with almost the whole of his nobility. Nor was the fortune of the rest very dissimilar, who, when they had hastily assembled at this point from various quarters, the river preventing their flight, perished almost to a man. From this circumstance, I think, it has arisen, that our historians have represented seven battles fought in one day."

—B. v. *Aikman's Translation*. That a great battle was fought here, about 838–9, we have no doubt; but that the contest was between the Scots and Picts, is another question. The story rests upon the authority of Fordun, from whom it has been copied by Buchanan, and others.—*Fordun*, lib. iv. cap. 4. Though it is not so easy to prove it, we are satisfied that this tale is as fabulous as the account of the death of Alpin, at Pit-Elpie, near Dundee; of the head of that king being stuck up at Abernethy, &c. It has been demonstrated, that the father of Kenneth, while warring with the Galwegians, fell in Ayrshire, at *Laight* Alpin, in the parish of Dalmellington; yet Buchanan tells us, that he was slain near Dundee, and the place "is, to this day, called Bas Alpin, that is, the fall of Alpin." The accession of Kenneth to the throne of the Picts, is admitted by every writer: the manner in which he acquired the sovereignty has not been satisfactorily elucidated; but the account of that event, given by our old historians, has been shewn to be inconsistent, and improbable. "*Fordun*," says Pinkerton, "has exerted all his little powers of fiction to adorn the catastrophe of the Picts. Kenneth uses a most sagacious stratagem to encourage his chiefs to this great conquest, by dressing a man in luminous skins of fish, who, with the voice

of an angel, denounces vengeance on the Picts." — *Pink. Enq.* vol. ii. p. 158. Buchanan minutely relates this childish fable, and informs us, that the skins of the fishes in which the youth was clothed, were mostly of the cod species, and dried in the wind; that, entering the hall where the nobles were asleep, the youth spoke through a long tube, &c. Pinkerton again observes, "As for Fordun, Boece, Buchanan, and their latest followers, they are to be considered as mere fablers, till the reign of Malcolm III, 1056; and cannot be founded on, in the smallest particular, before that period, being generally contradictory of our old monuments, and blending even their truth with such fables as obscure the light of history." — *Ibid.* p. 176. Though the author of *Caledonia* and Pinkerton differ widely in many things, they are of one opinion regarding this great battle between the Scots and Picts, and we concur with them in thinking that it never was fought. It is unnoted in our ancient chronicles; by Tighernac, who wrote in 1088; or in the *Annals of Ulster*. Alfred began to reign about 30 years after the accession of Kenneth to the Pictish throne, but he is silent as to this battle. Asser wrote the life of Alfred about 900; and though he mentions the Danes ravaging Pictavia, he says nothing of this conflict between the Scots and Picts. Nennius wrote in 858, only 20 years after this supposed event, yet he is silent respecting it. The *Saxon Chronicle*, written in the tenth and eleventh centuries, is also silent; as is Caradoc of Llancarvon, who wrote his *History of Wales* about 1158. Yet, in all these authorities, mention is made of remarkable incidents respecting the Picts. In the five lists that have been preserved of the Pictish kings, this Drusken, who is

said to have fought at Scone, is found only in the list furnished by Fordun himself. In the catalogue found in the Reg. of St And. there is a king Drust inserted before Kenneth; but this part of the Reg. bears to have been written about 1130, or nearly 300 years after the battle in which Drusken is said by Fordun to have been slain. This king is not to be found in Wynton's *Chronicle*; in the list preserved in the ancient Irish translation of Nennius; in that given by Tighernac; nor in *Chronicon Regum Pictorum*, the most authentic of them all. Fordun wrote 546 years after the conflict he records, when the manners, and customs, and language of the country had been changed, and tradition distorted. During the ninth and tenth centuries, darkness brooded over Europe. The accession of Kenneth M'Alpin to the Pictish throne happened in 843; and for 200 years following that event, every thing in our history is obscure: we read of witchcrafts and other abominations, while goblins and spectres are dimly seen stalking in the gloom, mingled with the undistinguished forms of terrible Vikingur.

Tighernac, the Irish historian, says, "In the year 838, the Danes and Norwegians made war upon Pictland; and a battle was fought, in which fell Owen, son of Aongus, and Bran, son of Aongus, and Aod, son of Boan, and many others." There can be no doubt that the Owen of Tighernac is the Uven of Nennius, and *Chron. Reg. Pict.* He was the son of Ungus, or Hungus II; ascended the throne in 836, and reigned 3 years. Events recorded by Tighernac, and in the *Annals of Ulster*, are often antedated by a year, which must be allowed for the difference in the beginning of the year, or the date should stand thus: 838-9. In the *Annals of Ulster*, at

838, we find, “ Battle by the gentiles (Northmen) upon Fortren men (Picts), wherein fell Owen Mac Aongus, and Bran Mac Aongus, Aod Mac Boan, *et alii pæne innumerabiles*,— and others almost innumerable.” The name of the place where the Picts received this signal overthrow is not mentioned in the *Ulster Annals*, nor by Tighernac; but we are satisfied that it was at Scone; and the account of this engagement, perverted by tradition, or misrepresented for the honour of the Scots, appears to be the sole foundation for a superstructure of fiction, which has been reared by Fordun, and adorned by his followers. It was the Danes and Norwegians who overwhelmed the Picts, anno 838–9, and we know of no other place but Scone* where this great battle can be supposed to have taken place. The Pictish monarch, with the flower of his nobility, having fallen in the action, the likelihood is, that it took place near to the seat of government; and there is no memorial of slaughter, or tradition of such an engagement having happened in the vicinity of Abernethy, or Forteviot; or, indeed, elsewhere. If the Danes and Norwegians be substituted for the Scots, we conclude that the account given by Fordun may be pretty near the truth. We

* Scone, or Scoon, seems to be a Gothic name; and it may perhaps have received the appellation, from being the site of this memorable conflict with the Northmen. We find *Sconen* in Denmark; and *Scon-land* in Norway: also, *Shoen* in Nordland; and *Scon-land* in Finmark. *Scanen* and *Scanza* were ancient names of Scandinavia, part of which is still called Scania,—the *Scandia* of Ptolemy. The meaning of Scone is uncertain; *Shoen*, in old Gothic; signifies a fort, or citadel: *Schantz*, in German, has the same import; hence, the English *sconce*, a bulwark; and, metaphorically, the head, as being the citadel, or *acropolis* of the body. These words seem all to be derived from the same etymon.

suppose the conflict began upon the Hill of Scone, and extended to Derder's Ford upon Tay, where the last stand would probably be made to cover the retreat of the king. This, it seems, he did not effect. The river might be suddenly swollen: perhaps Uven disdained to fly, or to survive his friends and his army. It is likely that on both sides the carnage had been great. The Picts, on being defeated, appear to have retreated toward Forteviot, and the fortress of *Tula-Aman** by Derder's Ford, where they would naturally

* Antiquaries have not pointed out the situation of this Pictish fortress; or of *Dun-Olla*. When Egfrid, King of Northumbria, invaded Pictland, he was defeated and slain at Dunnichen, three miles east of Forfar. On his march into Angus, he burnt *Tula-Aman*, and *Dun-Olla*.—*Ulst. Ann.* He proceeded from Lothian, which, in that age, formed part of the kingdom of *Bernicia*; and it is likely he would march by Stirling and Ardoch, where the Roman road would lead him to Bertha. At any rate, to advance into Strathmore, he would, probably, cross the Tay at Derder's Ford, being the first above the tide-way; and where Agricola is supposed to have founded *Orea*, in order to command this important passage to the northward. We have already shewn, that *Orea* continued long to be a place of consequence, and, under the Scottish kings, it was a royal fortress; two of them died in *Rath-Inver-Amon*, which Gaelic name, it is likely, it would receive after the accession of Kenneth to the throne of the Picts. By the latter, it seems to have been called *Tula-Aman*; and Egfrid would have acted unwisely, if he had crossed the Tay without making himself master of this fortress. What *Tula* might mean, in the Pictish language, we cannot pretend to say; but it may be related to *Tuile*, which, in Gaelic, signifies “a flood;” and might, perhaps, be intended to denote its situation at the confluence of the two rivers. Denoon Law is in the direct route, and situated about half way between Derder's Ford and Dunnichen. We suppose, the Pictish fort upon this hill was the Castle of *Dun-Olla*. Of the meaning of the name, in the Pictish tongue, we are ignorant: but we think it probable, that it implied, “The castle

rally round their sovereign, and where, according to Fordun, they perished almost to a man. This result is partially confirmed by the expression in the *Annals of Ulster*, “*et alii pæne innumerabiles*,—and others almost innumerable.” On the bloody field, Uven, the king, along with his brother, and a great number of Pictish nobles, fell beneath the swords of the Northmen; and these ferocious invaders would not fail to lay waste Pictavia. The circumstances attending this sad overthrow seem to have furnished materials for the fiction related by Fordun, concerning the defeat of an imaginary king Drusken, at this place, by Kenneth M’Alpin; and the desolation of the country by the ruthless *Vikingur*, following the defeat and death of Uven, appears to have formed the basis of the fable regarding the extirpation of the Picts by the Scottish monarch.

In a note, page 61, we gave a short account of the Gothic race, who, at this period, possessed Denmark, and the Scandinavian Peninsula; countries which were known to the Celtic inhabitants of the British islands, by the name of *Lochlin*. Some farther notice of that extraordinary people may not be unacceptable, as their actions are much blended with our early history, and we have just seen that they overwhelmed the Picts; besides, a great portion of our peerage, and gentry, are of the lineage of the Normans; they constitute a race, who, to this day, may be easily distinguished from the which commands a fine prospect.” *Olla* seems akin to the Gaelic *Shol*, “to look;” and we have no doubt, that *Craig Owl*, situated three miles to the eastward, and the highest of the Sidla Hills, derives its name from the same source. There are no vestiges of a fortress on the latter, or we would have concluded *Craig Owl* to be *Dun-Olla*.

mass of the people, who are Goths of a different breed. The barbarous tribes who now held these northern regions, were of large stature, and of dauntless spirit : they followed war as a profession ; and, by their prowess, became formidable to all Europe. For more than two hundred years, during the middle ages, they were the terror of every shore, which, in its turn, was subjected to the merciless ravages of Scandinavian freebooters, and other pirates, who issued from the Baltic in quest of plunder, and from whose iron grasp nothing could escape. Conscious of their own superiority in arms, they seem frequently to have made descents for the mere love of fighting ; and wherever they marched, their steps were marked with blood. Before they became known in the 10th and 11th centuries, as Norwegians, Danes, and Swedes, nations that were formed of numerous communities, they were denominated generally *Nordmen*, or *Northmen* ; but they called themselves *Vikingur*, or *Vikingr*, that is, *Sea Kings* ; and they were feared by every mariner that sailed upon the deep. Till the 8th century, however, their piracies were confined to the Baltic ; but, their audacity increasing with their numbers, they, at length, ventured boldly into the Atlantic ; their fleets were impendent on every coast ; and they stooped, like birds of prey, upon the miserable inhabitants, making the shores of Europe tremble at the name of Vikingur.

These Northmen dreadfully infested Britain and Ireland : they ravaged all the coasts of Flanders and Holland, where they were distinguished by the appellation of *Zee-woners*, that is, *Dwellers in the Sea* ; whence the island of Zeeland, on which Copenhagen stands, is supposed to have derived its name. The shores of

France and Spain did not escape the visitations of the Scandinavian rovers ; and they are said to have sailed as far south as the Canary and Cape Verde Isles, on the western coast of Africa : in southern Europe, they conquered Sicily ; and they scoured the Mediterranean, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Thracian Bosphorus. In the north, they settled in Iceland,* where they founded a republic, that lasted about four hundred years, from the 9th to the 13th century. The laws and institutions of this community have come down to us in minute detail ; and we are surprised to find the

* Who the aborigines of Iceland were, does not appear. Arius Frodi, who wrote about 1070, tells us that the Norwegians who colonized Iceland, found there Irish *Papas*, who were expelled, but left their *Bæcr Irscar*, Irish books, behind them. *De Islandia*, p. 11, edit. *Havniæ*, 1733, 4to. It might seem from this, that the Irish books could be read by some of the aborigines, and in this case, they were probably Celtæ. We learn from Adomnan, that Columba spoke to the Picts, by an interpreter. There is no evidence that the Cimbri of northern Europe knew the use of letters ; and the Goths of Scandinavia were equally ignorant before they were converted to Christianity. The *Papas* mentioned by Frodi were undoubtedly missionaries from Hyona ; and their books were probably in the Latin language. The Norwegians in Iceland were converted about A. D. 1000 ; and there are no Sagas older than the 11th century.—*Theodoricus Monachus de rebus Norv.* p. 8. By an authentic record of Thomas Bishop of the Orkneys, dated 1443, and published in Wallace's Orkneys, edit. 1700 ; when the Norwegians conquered these islands, they found them possessed “ by two nations, the Pets and Papas,” that is, the Picts and Priests ; and the latter, there can be no doubt, were churchmen from Hyona. Papey, one of the Orkney Isles, is supposed to derive its name from having been the chief residence of the Papas. They are called a nation in this document ; but the tradition concerning them had become confused in the course of 600 years.

lamp of learning* giving light to the *Thule* of Pytheas, while the rest of Europe was in dismal gloom.

The Scandinavian adventurers discovered Greenland, where they also settled. In the year 1001, Heriol and Biarn, natives of Iceland, lunched their daring prow, and, pushing across the Gulf now called Baffin's Bay, discovered North America. Steering to the southward, they coasted along Labrador, till they reached Vinland, which is generally supposed to have been Lower Canada.—Torfæus, *Vinlandia Antiqua*, 1705, 8vo. *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 280. The Waregori were a colony planted by the Northmen at the mouth of the Dwina, on the eastern shore of the White Sea, and where Archangel now stands. Before the middle of the 9th century the Vikingur, who delighted in adventure, had doubled the North Cape, and, after coasting Lapland, are supposed to have discovered Nova Zembla ; but we have met with no satisfactory evidence of the Scandinavians having sailed so far to the eastward in the Frozen Ocean. Nestor, the Russian annalist, who

* Icelandic literature comprehends poems and romances, with works on the sciences, a catalogue of which may be seen in the *Sciagraphia literaturæ Islandicæ*. Some morsels only have been published by the Society of Icelandic Literature : though abundantly curious, much progress in the sciences cannot be expected from the efforts of a secluded people. In the 13th century, Snorro Sturleson wrote the history of Sweden, which also relates to Denmark and Norway, in the Icelandic tongue ; of which history, a Latin translation has been given by Peringskiöld. Unfortunately, not one of the Icelandic pieces, nor any monument whatever of Scandinavian history, is older than the 11th century. Torfæus, the Danish antiquary and historian, wrote from 1695 to 1711, and was profoundly versed in Icelandic literature : he tells us that the Sagas abound so much in allegory, that it is often impossible to distinguish truth from fiction in these productions.

wrote about 1100, mentions that, in 862, the Waregori settled on the White Sea; and that this colony consisted of *Urmans*, *Inglani*, and *Gothi*, who are believed to be Normans, Angles, and Jutes, — pronounced Yeuts.*

* The Jutes, or Yeuts, were a Gothic tribe who had taken possession of Jutland, to which they gave a general name. A body of these arrived in England, an. 449, and settled in Kent. The Saxons were Gothic tribes who had seized that part of Germany, which extends from the Rhine to the Elbe. They arrived in England, an. 447, and afterward possessed the greater part of that country south of the Humber. The Angles were a Gothic tribe who held the south of Jutland. An. 574, Ida arrived in the north of England with a colony of Angles, and founded the kingdom of *Bernicia*, which extended from the Tees to the Forth. An. 559, Ella, at the head of another colony of Angles, founded the kingdom of *Deira*, which included Yorkshire. Forty years afterward, Adelfrid, king of *Bernicia*, conquered *Deira*, and his dominions included the country north of the Humber; on the west, extending to the Solway and Whitherne in Galloway; on the north, to the Forth; and Northumbria became the most powerful and famous kingdom of the Heptarchy. Adelfrid was succeeded by Edwin, who, an. 620, conquered Mona and Monæda, or Anglesey and the Isle of Man; the former ever after retaining the name of Anglesey, or English Isle. Edinburgh appears to have derived its name from the most potent of the Northumbrian kings. There is no evidence, that either the Britons or the Romans had availed themselves of the natural advantages of the place; but Edwin fortified the castle, which thenceforth took the name of Edwin's Burg, or Fort; and called by the Celtic inhabitants, Dun Edin, that is, the Castle of Edwin. An. 685, Egfrid, king of Northumbria, carried fire and sword into Pictland; but was defeated and slain by Brudi, king of the Picts, at Dunnichen, as already mentioned, when Brudi took possession of the country down to the Tweed. After this, the Northumbrian power gradually declined, till its final extinction by the Danes, about an. 860, twenty years after the Picts were overthrown at Scone. Bede, and other writers of the Heptarchy, were all of Northumbria; yet its history is obscure. Pinkerton questions if 10,000 *Angli* were left in England in the 10th century. — *Eng.*

Being invited into Russia, *Ruric*, their leader, fixed his throne at Novogorod in 864. In the same year, a portion of this colony, under the auspices of Oscold and Dir, defeated the Cosars at Kiow, and reigned there. From Kiow, they sailed down the Boristhenes, and invaded the Eastern Roman Empire. But *Ruric* was the founder of the Russian State; and his descendants held the sceptre till 1598, or for 700 years.—*Muller, Samlang Russ; Gesch, Parerga Hist. Dantisici*, 1782, 4to.

In 787, the Danes first made a descent upon England; and at 793, we read in the *Annals of Ulster*, “The wasting of all the islands of Britain, by the gentiles,” (Pagans, or Northmen;) at 794, “Burning of Rechrin (Rathlin) by gentiles;” and at 797, “Spoils of the sea, between Ireland and *Scotland*, by gentiles;” at 801, “Aoi of Columcille (Hyona) burnt by the gentiles;” at 805, *Familia Aoi occisa est a gentibus ad*

vol. ii. sup. p. 229. That the *Angli* were so reduced in number, appears to us equally improbable, as the extirpation of the Picts; a story incredible, and which Pinkerton himself has demonstrated to be without foundation. The Angles had possessed Northumbria for upwards of 300 years, before they submitted to the Danes; and there seems no reason to suppose, that they did not continue to constitute the most numerous portion of the population, intermixed with the offspring of those Britons who might remain in the country when subdued by the Angles. The Gothic tribes of Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, with the remains of the Aborigines, were the progenitors of the mass of English people; the inhabitants of Wales, and some other districts, excepted. Chalmers has clearly shewn, in his *Caledonia*, vol. i. books ii. and iv. that the Anglo-Saxons were the fathers of the mass of Scotch Lowlanders, with the exception of the northern extremity of the island, which was colonized by Scandinavian Goths. The Anglo-Saxon, and Scandinavian progeny, however, is doubtless blended with the descendants of Britons, Picts, and other Aborigines.

lxviii. "The fraternity at Hyona, slain by the gentiles to the number of 68;" at 824, "The martirizing of Blachmac MacFlain, in Aoi Colum Cille, by the gentiles;" at 838, "The overthrow of the Picts, already related;" at 852, "Aulaiv, king of Lochlin, came into Ireland; and all the foreigners of Ireland submitted to him, and had rent from the Irish." Aulaiv, and his successors, established the seat of their government at Dublin, which became a nest of pirates; and for 150 years, numerous fleets commanded by daring Vikingur, issued from the ports of Ireland to prey upon North and South Britain. They took possession of the Hebudes and the Isle of Man. Aulaiv, or Olave, was confederate with his brother Ivar, or Hivar, and their descendants ruled in Dublin; while a third brother Sitric, or Sigtrig, seized upon Limerick, and held the country at the mouth of the Shannon, on the west coast of Ireland. According to the *Genealogical Table of Langebek*, tom. ii. p. 415, Olave, Ivar, and Sitric were the offspring of the celebrated Regner Lodbrog; (see note, page 61;) this lineage, however, appears doubtful. These invaders were also called Ostmen, or Eastmen; and they continued to hold the best part of Ireland in subjection from 852 to 1014, when they were overthrown by Brian Boromhe in the battle of Clontarf. —Ware's *Antiq.* chap. xxiv. p. 106-8.

It was about 900, that Harold Harfagre (fair-haired,) having subdued several petty states, became master of all Norway, and established regular government in that country. He is said to have discouraged piracy; but many Norwegians disdained to submit to the dictates of the conqueror. He banished a powerful Iarl, called Ganga Hrolf, or Rollo the Walker, who received this

surname because no horse could support the weight of his gigantic stature. This Rollo was a famous sea king, and had ravaged Vika, a territory on the south of Norway, of which Harold claimed the sovereignty: on being driven from his country, he passed to the western isles of Scotland: being there joined by numbers of his discontented countrymen, who regarded Harold as a tyrant and usurper, he invaded England: but not meeting with the success he expected in that quarter, Rollo at last set sail for Neustria, a province in the north of France. After ravaging this fine province, and besieging Paris, a treaty was at length concluded, in 912, by which Neustria was ceded to Rollo and his followers. The province thenceforth was called Normandy, from its being possessed by the Northmen. Rollo lived to a great age, and left the province to his descendants, one of whom was afterward to ascend the throne of England.—*Torfæus, Hist. Norv.* tom. ii. Normandy was reunited to France by Philip Augustus, an. 1205.

No country suffered more than England from the destructive ravages of the Northmen, who ravened like wolves throughout her fertile territories; but, as these things are related in the History of England, we shall only glance at them here for the sake of connexion. From the first appearance of the Vikingr on the English shore 787, there was many a bloody field before Alfred the Great mounted the throne 872. He is said to have succeeded in destroying the Danish power in England 893; yet, the Danes continued to hold Northumbria, from 860 to 953; and this period of English history still requires investigation. An. 1017, Canute the Great, king of Denmark, ascended the throne of

England: but in 1042, the Saxon line was restored under Edward the Confessor. He was succeeded by Harold II. 1065. Next year, William, Duke of Normandy, a descendant of Rollo the Walker, having collected an army of Normans, and being joined by many Flemish and Burgundian knights, with other adventurers, he invaded England at the head of 60,000 chosen men, including the flower of European chivalry. Harold was taken at disadvantage, having just repelled a formidable invasion of the Norwegians: he fought it manfully, however; but, being defeated and slain at the bloody battle of Hastings, 1066, the fate of England was decided, and William assumed the sovereignty. It is always *vae victis* — “woe to the vanquished:” but it was particularly so to the Saxons, who were reduced to a state of servitude. William parcelled out the whole country among his Normans, and other followers: these were both superior in arms, and comparatively much more refined and polite, than the Saxons, who were not only robbed of their possessions, but treated by the former with contempt. This ill accords with our notions of politeness; but the Normans were so conscious of their superiority, that they affected to regard all the other inhabitants of the island as barbarians, while they were themselves only a semi-barbarous people. They introduced the style of Norman Gothic into British architecture, which is still so much admired: they, also, introduced the long-bow, and the great war-horse, with complete armour of steel, &c. From these Normans, the offspring of the awful Vikingur, are descended a great proportion of the peerage and gentry, both of Great Britain and Ireland; and, along with the Cambrian and Celtic chieftains, they constitute the most respect-

able aristocracy in Europe. William the Conqueror could not satisfy all his followers, and, besides, he was tyrannical; while the Norman barons were tenacious of their privileges, and strongly attached to national liberty; many of them from discontent, and afterward from various causes, forsook Merry England, and, migrating northward with their retainers, sought preferment at the Scottish court. They were welcomed by our kings, to whom they rendered essential service in establishing the royal authority, and were rewarded with grants of lands. Several of the Flemish and Burgundian knights and squires also forsook William's banner, and were well received in North Britain. The Scottish ladies of those days had been partial to the gallant adventurers, for many fine estates passed, by marriage, into the hands of the Normans, and other "mail-clad men." In England, after the conquest, none but the Normans, and their companions in arms, were acknowledged to be of the rank of *gentleman*; and, in consequence of this state of society, an intermarriage with a Saxon was regarded as a misalliance; but, in Scotland, the Normans were not so squeamish; they did not scruple to blend "the gentle Norman blood" with either Celt or Saxon, when the dowery of a rich heiress sweetened the mixture; and their descendants continue to evince, in that particular, the same good sense. We mentioned, page 164, that the title of *gentleman* was of Norman extraction; and, as its nature is not now generally understood, we shall endeavour to give some explanation of the term, after we have traced the bloody tracks of the Vikingur in North Britain.

The Picts being totally overthrown at Scone, the Northmen seem to have laid waste Pictavia for several

years, till they were successfully resisted by Kenneth M'Alpin, on his accession to the Pictish throne, 843. This warlike prince is believed to have maintained a dreadful contest with Regner Lodbrog, and to have defeated that celebrated sea-king, between Cluny and Dunkeld.—*Chron.* No. iii. in *Innes's App. Langbeck's Scriptores Dan.* v. ii. p. 2, 3, &c. Regner is supposed to have retreated to his camp at Inchtuthil, which, according to tradition, was instantly stormed by Kenneth; upon which the Danes are said to have taken refuge in the *Bloody Inches*, an island in the Tay, about a mile below Inchtuthil. Here they endeavoured to make a stand, but were again defeated, with great slaughter, by the Scots and Picts; and Regner, with the remains of his army, escaped to his fleet. The account of this invasion is borne out by the names of places called *Cairnie*, north and west of Butterstone Loch; while the *tumuli* at Inchtuthil and the *Bloody Inches* give countenance to the tradition. It is probable that Regner himself had been severely wounded in the last of these engagements, and he seems to allude to this in his *Epicedeum*, as formerly noticed, when he says,—“ In that day, when fainting, I concealed my blood, and pushed forth my ships into the waves, after we had spread a repast for the beasts of prey, throughout the Scottish bays.” See note, page 61.* During the

* It was there mentioned, that Regner Lodbrog was a king of Denmark; he is believed to have also ruled over Sweden. But the Northmen, previous to the tenth century, were known to the rest of Europe only by their piracies and invasions; and every thing concerning their internal government is obscure; while we cannot depend on Scandinavian chronology before An. 900, when the true history of these nations begins. The date even of Regner Lodbrog's reign has not been ascertained with certainty. Adam,

reign of Constantin, the son of Kenneth, Scotland sustained from the Vikingur such terrible devastation, for about twenty years, that the country must have been rendered nearly desolate. In the *Albanic Duan*, it is said, "the hero Constantin bravely fought throughout a lengthened reign;" and of his brother and successor, *Aodh*, or Hugh, "two years were hard complexioned times." Anno 866, Olave, leader of the Danes and Norwegians in Ireland, ravaged Pictland, from the day of the new year to that of St Patrick, or 17th of March, and carried off plunder and hostages.—*Chron. Pict.* The *Annals of Ulst.* antedate this event by one year. At 865, we find, "Aulaiv and his nobilitie went to Fortren, (Forteviot,) together with the foreigners of Ireland and *Scotland*, and spoiled all the Cruithens—(Pighs.)" At 869, "*Obsessio Ailcluache a Nordmannis: id est Aulaiv et Ivar, duo reges Normannorum, obsiderunt arcem illum; et destruxerunt, in fine iv. mensium, arcem, et prædaverunt.*" "Capture of Alclùith (Dunbarton Castle) by Nordmen; that is, Aulaiv and Ivar, two kings of the Normans, besieged that fortress, and destroyed the castle at the end of four months, and sacked the place." At this period, Dunbarton was the capital of the Britons of Strathclyde. An. 870, "Aulaiv and Ivar came again to Dublin, out of *Scotland*, and brought with them great booties from Englishmen,

of Bremen, who wrote 1075, mentions, page 14, *Inguar, filius Lodparchi*—"Einar, the son of Lodbrog," ravaging France, about 865. Regner must, therefore, have flourished in the earlier part of the ninth century, and, probably, was contemporary with Kenneth M'Alpin. Dr M'Culloch, in his account of the Highlands and Western Isles, calls this Vikingr, Regner Hairy-breeches. The learned Doctor gives no authority for his translation of Lodbrog.

Britons, and Pights, in their two hundred ships, with many of their people captives." Soon after this, in another invasion, the Picts were defeated, with great slaughter, at a place called *Coach-cochlum* in *Chr. Pictorum*; and the Northmen continued ravaging Pictland for a whole year. According to the *Ulst. An.* "Ostin Mac. Aulaiv, king of Nordmans, was slain by the Albanich" — (Scots.) Olaiv himself, is said in *Chron. Pict.* to have fallen in battle with Constantin; but the *Ulster An.* do not mention the circumstance. It is probable that Constantin, the son of Kenneth M'Alpin, fell, bravely fighting with the Danes on the northern shore of the Firth of Forth, and near the east nook of Fife, where 881, and cross-swords, are inserted in the map of the basin of the Tay. Fordun says, he was slain in a cave near Fifeness; but the *Ulst. An.* and *Chron. Pict.* are silent as to this. There are traditions in this part of Fife, of dreadful conflicts with the Danes. Large skeletons have frequently been dug up, and bones of gigantic proportions have often been found upon the shore, from the mouth of the Leven to the eastern extremity of Largo Bay; and these are regarded by the people as the remains of the heroes who then fell in battle. The upright stones on different parts of the coast, and, in particular, *the Standing Stones of Lundie*, are supposed to commemorate the repulse of the Danes in this invasion, and to have been erected where chiefs had fallen in conflict with the Northmen. Concerning these very remarkable stones, however, there is no peculiar tradition; but a small cave is pointed out, near the rampart of the Danish camp at Fifeness, and still called *Danes' Dyke*, where Constantin

is said to have been sacrificed to the manes of the Danish leaders.—*Stat. Acco.* vol. iv. p. 546. vol. v. p. 116. vol. ix. p. 454.

The reign of Constantin, or from 864 to 882, seems to have been the most disastrous period of our history, and Scotland was all but conquered by the Northmen. It is clear, from the most ancient and authentic of the Scandinavian records, that, during these events, or soon after the middle of the 9th century, the Vikingur seized on the Orkneys and Hebudes, with Caithness and Sutherland, and part of Ross, besides the Shetland Isles. They also took possession of several peninsulæ, or tongues of land, in the West Highlands. It appears, that the Hebudes were subject to the Danish kings of Dublin, till about 910, when they were conquered by Harold *Harfagre*, the first sovereign of all Norway. He created Sigurd Jarl, or Earl, of Orkney: in 912, he appointed Ketil, lord of the Hebudes.—*Torf. Orc.* i. 5. In 989, Godfrey, son of Harold, king of the Hebudes, was slain by the Dalriads.—*Tigh. Ann.* The lords of the Hebudes fixed the seat of their government in the Isle of Man, and seem again to have become subject to the kings of Dublin; for, in 1075, we find the people of Man sending to the king of Dublin, to desire him to appoint their king.—*Chron. Mann. apud Camden.** It is probable, that the kings of Man and the Hebudes asserted their independence when the Danish power in Ireland was overthrown in the battle of Clontarf, 1014. Godfred was king of Man and the Hebudes, 1066. The

* The records of Man are said to be still preserved among the episcopal archives of Drontheim, in Norway.—*Pink. Inq. Sup.* vol. ii. p. 296.

Landnama book of Iceland, contains the names of many Norwegian families who left the Hebudes to settle in Iceland, in the 10th century. It is, therefore, a mere dream, the account given by Fordun, and repeated by our historians, that these isles belonged to Scotland, till ceded to the Norwegians by Donald Bane, 1099. It is also a most improbable story, that our monarchs were buried in Hyona, from Kenneth M'Alpin, down to Malcolm Caenmore; kings that were almost constantly engaged in savage warfare with the pagan Northmen, who, as we have seen, repeatedly rifled, burned, and sacked Colum-cille, miserably slaughtering the ecclesiastics, and other inhabitants, In the *Chron. Pict.* we read, that, in 849, Kenneth M'Alpin transported the relics of Columba, hitherto preserved in Hyona, to a new church which he built in Pictland. This church is believed to have been Dunkeld, whose abbot, after Hyona was seized by the Norwegians, was for some time primate of Scotland. Kenneth, and some of his successors, would probably be interred in that church, which contained the relics of the saint. These relics not being secure in Hyona, from the unhallowed hands of the Vikingur, it is not likely that the sacrilegious Northmen would respect the ashes of our kings; and, as formerly observed, if the body of Malcolm II. had been sent to that place for interment, it is reasonable to suppose, that the Pagans would have thrown his carcass into the sea. In *Chron. Pict.* written about 1020, no mention is made of the burial of our kings in Hyona. The fable appears to have been invented by the monks of St Andrews, in the twelfth century: the story is repeated in the *Chron. Elegiacum*, composed

about the middle of the thirteenth, and adopted by Fordun, in the fourteenth ; who has been followed by succeeding writers to this day.*

Magnus *Bærfetta*, (Barefoot,) king of Norway, again conquered the Orkneys and Hebudes, with the Isle of Man, an. 1098. But the Earls of Orkney were generally independent princes, daring Vikingur, and, in power, little inferior to the kings of Scotland. They were lords of the Shetland Isles and the Hebudes, and Caithness was often subject to their sway. Haco, king of Norway, invaded Scotland with a mighty fleet, 1263, but was defeated at Largs ; and Magnus IV, after a long negotiation, yielded the Hebudes and Man to Alexander III, 1266. Thus, we see, the Hebudes were in the possession of the Northmen 400 years ; a fact unknown to Fordun and our old historians, who constantly speak of the Western Isles, as forming part of the dominions of the Scottish kings. While these islands belonged to the Scandinavians, they were

* Columba, with his twelve companions, settled in Hyona, an. 565. This famous isle is situated off the south-west point of Mull, from which it is separated by a strait now two miles broad ; but anciently much narrower, for we are informed, that people could converse across the channel. The islet is, at present, about two miles long, by one broad ; and is rather fertile. It contains interesting ruins, and *tumuli*. The primitive name was *I*, which in Gaelic signifies an isle. By Bede, *I* was aspirated *Hy*. From its being exposed to the swell of the Atlantic, it is often dangerous to approach its shores, and on that account, it was also called by the Gael, *I-thon*, “ the isle of waves ;” this being pronounced *I-on*, was Latinized by the monks Iona, and aspirated Hyona, as we find it written by Adomnan, in his life of Columba ; Adomnan was abbot, 679. In later times, it was denominated *I-colm-cille* (pronounced Icolmkil,) “ the isle of Columba’s retreat, or cell.”

denominated by the Celtic inhabitants of Scotland and Ireland, *Inch Gall*, “the isles of the strangers.” The etymology of the classical name is uncertain: Torfæus deduces it from *ey*, an island, and *bud* a habitation, implying “the inhabited isles;” to us, however, this Gothic derivation of Hebudes appears more than doubtful.* The Orkney Isles were impignorated to James III, 1468. for the marriage portion of Queen Margaret, daughter of Christian I, king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; and not being redeemed, were annexed to the Scottish crown, 1471-2; and the Shetland Isles were soon afterward purchased from Christian, for a sum amounting to about L.20,000 of our money.—*Barry*. Thus, we see, the Orkneys and Shetland were held by the Northmen 600 years. According to Torfæus, the etymology of Orkney is from *ork*, a desert, and *ey*, an isle, implying “the

* So little are our writers acquainted with the history of the Hebudes, that, as Pinkerton justly observes, they have perverted the name, “since the publication of the notorious history of Hector Boethius, 1526.” Ptolemy has *Eboudai*, in Latin, *Ebudæ*; Pliny and Solinus, *Ebudes*. The edition of the latter, by Aldus, 1518, 8vo. *Hæbudes*; as have all the editions of Pliny and Solinus since. In a very inaccurate edition of Solinus, published at Paris, An. 1503, it is *Ebrides*, by a mistake of the printer. Boece, having studied at Paris, had no doubt taken his *Hebrides* from this most inaccurate edition of Solinus, and, merely from a typographical error, *Hebrides* has passed among all our writers; for three centuries, with the exception of Buchanan, who puts *Æbudæ*; but upon no ancient authority. All foreign writers, however, put Hebudes; and, though it is not of much consequence by what name the western isles of Scotland are distinguished, for those who prefer the classical name, to persist in *Hebrides*, is certainly like the old priest, who retained his *Mumpsimus* for *Sumpsimus*.—*Pink. Inq.* vol. ii. Sup. p. 302.

uninhabited isles ;” but we are doubtful of this Gothic derivation of the classic *Orcades*. Solinus, indeed, who wrote about 240, says, they were desert in his time ; but Solinus is an author of slender information, and an authority not to be depended upon, as is evident from his account of the *Hebudes*. It is clear from Tacitus, that the Orkneys were inhabited in the first century, when they were discovered and subdued by the fleet of Agricola, an. 84, “ *invenit domuitque*.” The ancient Celtic name was *Inistore*, “ the Islands of Whales ;” and we incline to refer *Orcades* to this source. Shetland, Zetland, Yetland, are corruptions of *Hialtland*, pronounced *Yaltland*. *Hialt* is supposed to have been a Norwegian Vikingr, who settled in Shetland about the middle of the ninth century. The more ancient Celtic name was *Iniscon*, “ the Island of Swelling Waves,” probably the *Iscont*, of Nicolo Zeno, who is supposed to have visited Shetland in the 13th century. One of the isles still retains the name of *Unst*. It is plain that Shetland was the *Thule* of Tacitus. When the fleet of Agricola circumnavigated the *Orcades*, Tacitus says, *dispecta est et Thule*, “ and Thule was beheld.” The lofty peaks of Foula, in Shetland, are distinctly seen, in a clear day, from North Ronaldsha, in Orkney. It is, perhaps, worthy of notice, that the classic *Thule*, the Celtic *Iniscon*, and the Gothic *Hialtland*, are all in the singular number ; while *Orcades* and *Hebudes* are plural. It appears not improbable that Shetland was formerly one island : a disruption may have been produced by the shock of an earthquake, and the rents would afterward be widened by the force of the waves.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX. A.

[The following is the interesting account given by Tacitus of the sixth and seventh campaigns of Agricola in Caledonia; including the battle of the ninth legion, &c. with the Britons, and the battle of *Mons Grampius*, where Galgacus was defeated by Agricola. The translation of Tacitus by Murphy is preferred, as being the best, though in some places he seems to have mistaken the meaning of that difficult author.]

IN the campaign, which began in the sixth summer, having reason to apprehend a general confederacy of the nations beyond the Firth of Bodotria,* and fearing, in a country not yet explored, the danger of a surprise, Agricola ordered his ships to sail across the gulf, and gain some knowledge of those new regions. The fleet, now acting, for the first time, in concert with the land forces, proceeded in sight of the army, forming a magnificent spectacle, and adding terror to the war. It frequently happened, that in the same camp were

* The words of the text are, *civitates trans Bodotriam sitas*; literally, "the states situated beyond *Bodotria*," or "the Forth." Tacitus does not say the *Firth of Bodotria*.

seen the infantry and cavalry intermixed with the marines, all indulging their joy, full of their adventures, and magnifying the history of their exploits; the soldier describing, in the usual style of military ostentation, the forests which he had passed, the mountains which he climbed, and the barbarians whom he put to the rout; while the sailor, no less important, had his storms and tempests, the wonders of the deep, and the spirit with which he conquered winds and waves. At the sight of the Roman fleet, the Britons, according to intelligence gained from the prisoners, were struck with consternation, convinced that every resource was cut off, since the sea, which had always been their shelter, was now laid open to the invader. In this distress the Caledonians resolved to try the issue of a battle. Warlike preparations were instantly begun with a degree of exertion, great in reality, but, as is always the case in matters obscure and distant, magnified by the voice of fame. Without waiting for the commencement of hostilities, they stormed the Roman forts and castles, and, by provoking danger, made such an impression, that several officers in Agricola's army, disguising their fear, under the specious appearance of prudent counsels, recommended a sudden retreat, to avoid the disgrace of being driven back to the other side of the Firth.* Meanwhile, Agricola received intelligence that the enemy meditated an attack in various quarters at once; and thereupon, lest superior numbers,

* The words of Tacitus are, *regrediendumque citra Bodotriam, et excedendum potiùs, quàm pellerentur*; literally, "and returning on this side Bodotria," or "the Forth," "and departing rather than they should be driven back." Thus, we see, the Firth is substituted for the Forth, by the translator.

in a country where he was a stranger to the defiles and passes, should be able to surround him, he divided his army, and marched forward in three columns. The Caledonians, informed of this arrangement, changed their plan, and, in the dead of night, fell, with their united force, upon the ninth legion, then the weakest of the Roman army. They surprised the advanced guard, and having, in the confusion of sleep and terror, put the sentinels to the sword, they forced their way through the intrenchments. The conflict was in the very camp, when Agricola, who had been informed that the barbarians were on their march, and instantly pursued their steps, came up to the relief of the legion. He ordered the swiftest of the horse and light infantry to advance with expedition, and charge the enemy in the rear, while his whole army set up a general shout. At break of day the Roman banners glittered in view of the barbarians, who found themselves hemmed in by two armies, and began to relax their vigour. The spirit of the legion revived. The men perceived that the moment of distress was over, and the struggle was now for glory. Acting no longer on the defensive, they rushed on to the attack. In the very gates of the camp, a fierce and obstinate engagement followed. The besieged legion, and the forces that came to their relief, fought with a spirit of emulation; the latter contending for the honour of succouring the distressed, and the former, to prove that they stood in no need of assistance. The Caledonians were put to the rout; and, if the woods and marshes had not favoured their escape, that single action had put an end to the war. By this victory, so complete and glorious, the Roman army was inspired with confidence to such a degree,

4 EXTRAORDINARY VOYAGE OF USIPIAN DESERTERS.

that they now pronounced themselves invincible. Nothing could stand before them. They desired to be led into the recesses of the country, and, by following their blow, to penetrate to the extremity of the island. Even the prudent of the day before, changed their tone with the event, and talked of nothing but victory and conquest. Such is the tax which the commanders of armies must always pay: the merit of success is claimed by all; calamity is imputed to the general only. The Caledonians, notwithstanding their defeat, abated nothing from their ferocity. Their want of success, they said, was not to be ascribed to superior courage; it was the chance of war, or, perhaps, the skill of the Roman general. In this persuasion, they resolved to keep the field. They listed the young men of their nation—they sent their wives and children to a place of safety—they held public conventions of the several states, and with solemn rites and sacrifices formed a league in the cause of liberty. The campaign ended in this manner; and the two armies, inflamed with mutual animosity, retired into winter quarters.

In the course of the same summer, a cohort of the Usipians, which had been raised in Germany, and thence transported to serve in Britain, performed an exploit so daring and extraordinary, that in this place it may be allowed to merit attention. Having murdered the centurion, who was left in command, and also the soldiers, who, for the purpose of introducing military discipline, had been incorporated with the several companies, they seized three light galleys, and, forcing the masters on board, determined to sail from the island. One of the pilots made his escape, and, suspicion falling on the other two, they were both

killed on the spot. Before their design transpired, the deserters put to sea, to the astonishment of all who beheld the vessels under way. They had not sailed far, when they became the sport of winds and waves. They made frequent descents on the coast, in quest of plunder, and had various conflicts with the natives, victorious in some places, and in others beat back to their ships. Reduced at length to the extremity of famine, they fed on their companions, at first devouring the weakest, and afterwards deciding among themselves by lot. In this distress, they sailed round the extremity of the island, and, through want of skill in navigation, were wrecked on the continent, where they were treated as pirates, first by the Suevians, and afterwards by the Frisians. Being sold to slavery, and in the way of commerce turned over to different masters, some of them reached the Roman settlements on the banks of the Rhine, and there grew famous for their sufferings, and the bold singularity of their voyage.

In the beginning of the following summer, Agricola met with a stroke of affliction by the loss of a son, about a year old. He did not, upon this occasion, affect, like many others, the character of a man superior to the feelings of nature; nor yet did he suffer his grief to sink him down into unbecoming weakness. He felt the impression, but regret was lost in the avocations of war. In the opening of the campaign, he despatched his fleet, with orders to annoy the coast by frequent descents in different places, and spread a general alarm. He put himself, in the meantime, at the head of his army, equipped for expedition, and, taking with him a select band of the bravest Britons, of known and approved fidelity, he advanced as far as

the Grampian Hills, where the enemy was already posted in force. Undismayed by their former defeat, the barbarians expected no other issue than a total overthrow, or a brave revenge. Experience had taught them that the common cause required a vigorous exertion of their united strength. For this purpose, by treaties of alliance, and by deputations to the several cantons, they had drawn together the strength of their nation. Upwards of thirty thousand men appeared in arms, and their force was increasing every day. The youth of the country poured in from all quarters, and even the men in years, whose vigour was still unbroken, repaired to the army, proud of their past exploits, and the ensigns of honour which they had gained by their martial spirit. Among the chieftains, distinguished by their bird than valour, the most renowned was Galgacus. The multitude gathered round him, eager for action, and burning with uncommon ardour. He then harangued them to the following effect:—

“ When I consider the motives that have roused us to this war ; when I reflect on the necessity that now demands our firmest vigour, I expect every thing great and noble from that union of sentiment that pervades us all. From this day I date the freedom of Britain. We are the men who never crouched in bondage. Beyond this spot there is no land where liberty can find a refuge. Even the sea is shut against us, while the Roman fleet is hovering on the coast. To draw the sword in the cause of freedom is the true glory of the brave, and, in our condition, cowardice itself would throw away the scabbard. In the battles, which have been hitherto fought with alternate vicissitudes of

fortune, our countrymen might well repose some hopes in us,—they might consider us as their last resource,—they knew us to be the noblest sons of Britain, placed in the last recesses of the land, in the very sanctuary of liberty. We have not so much as seen the melancholy regions where slavery has debased mankind. We have lived in freedom, and our eyes have been unpolluted by the sight of ignoble bondage.

“The extremity of the earth is ours: defended by our situation, we have to this day preserved our honour and the rights of men. But we are no longer safe in our obscurity,—our retreat is laid open,—the enemy rushes on, and, as things unknown are ever magnified, he thinks a mighty conquest lies before him. But this is the end of the habitable world, and rocks and brawling waves fill all the space behind. The Romans are in the heart of our country,—no submission can satisfy their pride,—no concessions can appease their fury. While the land has any thing left, it is the theatre of war; when it can yield no more, they explore the seas for hidden treasure. Are the nations rich, Roman avarice is their enemy. Are they poor, Roman ambition lords it over them. The east and the west have been rifled, and the spoiler is still insatiate. The Romans, by a strange singularity of nature, are the only people who invade with equal ardour the wealth and the poverty of nations. To rob, to ravage, and to murder, in their imposing language, are the arts of civil policy. When they have made the world a solitude, they call it peace.

“Our children and relatives are dear to us all. It is an affection planted in our breast by the hand of nature. And yet those tender pledges are ravished from us, to

serve in distant lands. Are our wives, our sisters, and our daughters, safe from brutal lust and open violation? The insidious conqueror, under the mask of hospitality and friendship, brands them with dishonour. Our money* is conveyed into their treasury, and our corn into their granaries. Our limbs and bodies are worn out in clearing woods and draining marshes; and what have been our wages? Stripes and insult. The lot of the meanest slave, born in servitude, is preferable to ours: he is sold but once, and his master maintains him; but Britain every day invites new tyrants, and every day pampers their pride. In a private family the slave, who is last brought in, provokes the mirth and ridicule of the whole domestic crew; and in this general servitude, to which Rome has reduced the world, the case is the same: we are treated, at first, as objects of derision, and then marked out for destruction.

“What better lot can we expect? We have no arable lands to cultivate for a master,—no mines to dig for his avarice,—no harbours to improve for his commerce. To what end should the conqueror spare us? Our virtue and undaunted spirit are crimes in the eyes of the conqueror, and will render us more obnoxious. Our remote situation, hitherto the retreat of freedom, and on that account the more suspected, will only serve to inflame the jealousy of our enemies. We must expect no mercy. Let us therefore dare like men. We all are summoned by the great call of nature, not only those who know the value of liberty, but even such as think life on any terms the dearest blessing. The

* Tacitus is at fault here. There could be no money in the country but what the Romans brought into it.

Trinobantes, who had only a woman to lead them on, were able to carry fire and sword through a whole colony. They stormed the camps of the enemy, and, if success had not intoxicated them, they had been, beyond all doubt, the deliverers of their country. And shall not we, unconquered, and undebased by slavery, a nation ever free, and struggling now, not to recover, but to ensure our liberties, shall we not go forth the champions of our country? Shall we not, by one generous effort, show the Romans that we are the men whom Caledonia has reserved to be assertors of the public weal?

“ We know the manners of the Romans: and are we to imagine that their valour in the field is equal to their arrogance in time of peace? By our dissensions their glory rises; the vices of their enemies are the negative virtues of the Roman army; if that may be called an army, which is no better than a motley crew of various nations, held together by success, and ready to crumble away in the first reverse of fortune. That this will be their fate, no one can doubt, unless we suppose that the Gaul, the German, and (with shame I add) the Britons, a mercenary band, who hire their blood in a foreign service, will adhere from principle to a new master, whom they have lately served, and long detested. They are now inlisted by awe and terror: break their fetters, and the man who forgets to fear will seek revenge.

“ All that can inspire the human heart, every motive that can excite us to deeds of valour, is on our side. The Romans have no wives in the field to animate their drooping spirit,—no parents to reproach their want of courage. They are not listed in the cause of their

country: their country, if any they have, lies at a distance. They are a band of mercenaries, a wretched handful of devoted men, who tremble and look aghast as they roll their eyes around, and see on every side objects unknown before. The sky over their heads, the sea, the woods, all things conspire to fill them with doubt and terror. They come like victims, delivered into our hands by the gods, to fall this day a sacrifice to freedom.

“In the ensuing battle be not deceived by false appearances; the glitter of gold and silver may dazzle the eye, but to us it is harmless, to the Romans no protection. In their own ranks we shall find a number of generous warriors ready to assist our cause. The Britons know that for our common liberties we draw the avenging sword. The Gauls will remember that they once were a free people; and the Germans, as the Usipians lately did, will desert their colours. The Romans have left nothing in their rear to oppose us in the pursuit,—their forts are ungarrisoned,—the veterans in their colonies droop with age,—in their municipal towns, nothing but anarchy, despotic government, and disaffected subjects. In me behold your general; behold an army of freeborn men. Your enemy is before you, and, in his train, heavy tributes, drudgery in the mines, and all the horrors of slavery. Are those calamities to be entailed upon us? or shall this day relieve us by a brave revenge? There is the field of battle, and let that determine. Let us seek the enemy, and, as we rush upon him, remember the glory delivered down to us by our ancestors; and let each man think that upon his sword depends the fate of all posterity.”

This speech was received, according to the custom of barbarians, with war songs, with savage howlings, and a wild uproar of military applause. Their battalions began to form the line of battle; the brave and warlike rushed forward to the front, and the field glittered with the blaze of arms. The Romans on their side burned with equal ardour. Agricola saw the impatient spirit of his men, but did not think proper to begin the engagement till he confirmed their courage by the following speech:—

“It is now, my fellow-soldiers, the eighth* year of our service in Britain. During that time, the genius and good auspices of the Roman empire, with your assistance and unwearied labour, have made the island our own. In all our expeditions, in every battle, the enemy has felt your valour; and, by your toil and perseverance, the very nature of the country has been conquered. I have been proud of my soldiers, and you have had no reason to blush for your general. We have carried the terror of our arms beyond the limits of any other soldiers, or any former general; we have penetrated to the extremity of the land. This was formerly the boast of vainglory, the mere report of fame; it is now historical truth. We have gained possession sword in hand,—we are encamped on the

* As Horsley observes, *annus octavus*, “the eighth year,” is a mere error in transcribing; the numbers in old MSS. being always in numerals, *VIIIus* had crept in for *VIIus*. Agricola says, the foe had surprised his camp the year previous, *proximo anno*; and Tacitus expressly calls that the sixth year of Agricola’s command, *sextum officii annum*. Indeed this is evident from the whole narrative.

utmost limits of the island. Britain is discovered, and by the discovery conquered.

“ In our long and laborious marches, when you were obliged to traverse moors, and fens, and rivers, and to climb steep and craggy mountains, it was still the cry of the bravest amongst you, When shall we be led to battle? When shall we see the enemy? Behold them now before you. They are hunted out of their dens and caverns; your wish is granted, and the field of glory lies open to your swords. One victory more makes this new world our own; but remember that a defeat involves us all in the last distress. If we consider the progress of our arms, to look back is glorious; the tract of country that lies behind us, the forests which you have explored, and the estuaries which you have passed,* are monuments of eternal fame. But our fame can only last while we press forward on the enemy. If we give ground,—if we think of a retreat,—we have the same difficulties (obstacles) to surmount again. The success, which is now our pride, will in that case be our worst misfortune. We are not sufficiently acquainted with the course of the country; the enemy knows the defiles and marshes, and will be supplied with provisions in abundance. We have not those advantages; but we have hands that can grasp the sword, and we have valour, that gives us every thing. With me it has long been a settled principle, that the back of a general or his army is never safe. Which of

* The words of Tacitus are—“*transisse æstuaria*,” and the noun being plural, indicates that the site of the battle of *Mons Grampius* could not be in Fife; but to the northward of the Firths of Forth and Tay. This seems to have escaped the notice of Colonel Miller, and the Rev. Mr Small.

you would not rather die with honour than live in infamy? But life and honour are this day inseparable, —they are fixed to one spot. Should fortune declare against us, we die on the utmost limits of the world; and to die where nature ends, cannot be deemed inglorious.

“ If our present struggle were with nations wholly unknown,—if we had to do with an enemy new to our swords, I should call to mind the example of other armies. At present what can I propose so bright and animating as your own exploits? I appeal to your own eyes: behold the men drawn up against you: are they not the same who, last year, under covert of the night, assaulted the ninth legion, and, upon the first shout of our army, fled before you? A band of dastards! who have subsisted hitherto, because, of all the Britons, they are the most expeditious runaways.

“ In woods and forests the fierce and noble animals attack the huntsmen, and rush on certain destruction; but the timorous herd is soon dispersed, scared by the sound and clamour of the chase. In like manner the brave and warlike Britons have long since perished by the sword. The refuse of the nation still remains. They have not staid to make head against you,—they are hunted down,—they are caught in the toils. Benumbed with fear, they stand motionless on yonder spot, which you will render for ever memorable by a glorious victory. Here you may end your labours, and close a scene of fifty years by one great, one glorious day. Let your country see, and let the commonwealth bear witness, if the conquest of Britain has been a lingering work,—if the seeds of rebellion have not been crushed,—that we at least have done our duty.”

During this harangue, whilst Agricola was still addressing the men, a more than common ardour glowed on every countenance. As soon as the general ended, the field rung with shouts of applause. Impatient for the onset, the soldiers grasped their arms. Agricola restrained their violence, till he formed his order of battle. The auxiliary infantry, in number about eight thousand, occupied the centre. The wings consisted of three thousand horse. The legions were stationed in the rear, at the head of the intrenchments,* as a body of reserve to support the ranks, if necessary, but otherwise, to remain inactive, that a victory, obtained without the effusion of Roman blood, might be of higher value. The Caledonians kept possession of the rising grounds, extending their ranks as wide as possible, to present a formidable show of battle. Their first line was ranged on the plain, the rest, in a gradual ascent on the acclivity of the hill. The intermediate space between both armies was filled with the charioteers and cavalry of the Britons, rushing to and fro in wild career, and traversing the plain with noise and tumult. The enemy being greatly superior in number, there was reason to apprehend that the Romans might be attacked both in front and flank at the same time. To prevent that mischief, Agricola ordered his ranks to form a wider range. Some of the

* The words of Tacitus are — *legiones pro vallo stetere*, literally, — “the legions were posted for a rampart,” that is, instead of a rampart, behind which the auxiliaries could rally, if overpowered by the enemy. It is a moot point; but we incline to think the translator has here mistaken the import of the expression of the historian. The Romans never fought close to their intrenchments when they could avoid it.

officers saw that the lines* were weakened into length, and therefore advised that the legions should be brought forward into the field of action. But the general was not of a temper to be easily dissuaded from his purpose. Flushed with hope, and firm in the hour of danger, he immediately dismounted, and, dismissing his horse, took his stand at the head of the colours.† The battle began, and at first was maintained at a distance. The Britons neither wanted skill nor resolution. With their long swords, and targets of small dimension, they had the address to elude the missive weapons of the Romans, and, at the same time, to discharge a thick volley of their own. To bring the conflict to a speedy decision, Agricola ordered three Batavian and two Tungrian cohorts to charge the enemy sword in hand. To this mode of attack these troops had been long accustomed, but to the Britons it was every way disadvantageous. Their small targets afforded no protection, and their unwieldy swords, not sharpened to a point, could do but little execution in a close engagement. The Batavians rushed to the attack with impetuous fury; they redoubled their blows, and, with the bosses of their shields, bruised the enemy in the face; and, having overpowered all resistance on the plain, began to force

* Tacitus says,—*diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat*, literally,—“from the troops being parted,” that is, posted with greater intervals than usual,—the disposition of the forces was, however, about to be weakened.

† The words of Tacitus are—*pedes ante vexilla constitit*, literally,—“he took his station before the colours.” We suppose, however, the historian meant, that Agricola advanced on foot before the banners. It is evident that the Romans did not wait to receive the charge; and it was not their mode to do so. We are afterward told that Agricola was every where present.

their way up the ascent of the hill in regular order of battle. Incited by their example, the other cohorts advanced with a spirit of emulation, and cut their way with terrible slaughter. Eager in pursuit of victory, they pressed forward with determined fury, leaving behind them numbers wounded, but not slain, and others not so much as hurt. The Roman cavalry, in the mean time, was forced to give ground. The Caledonians, in their armed chariots, rushed at full speed into the thick of the battle, where the infantry were engaged. Their first impression struck a general terror ; but their career was soon checked by the inequalities of the ground, and the close embodied ranks of the Romans. Nothing could less resemble an engagement of the cavalry. Pent up in narrow places, the barbarians crowded upon each other, and were driven or dragged along by their own horses. A scene of confusion followed. Chariots without a guide, and horses without a rider, broke from the ranks in wild disorder, and, flying every way, as fear and consternation urged, they overwhelmed their own files, and trampled down all who came in their way. Meanwhile the Britons, who had hitherto kept their post on the hills, looking down with contempt on the scanty numbers of the Roman army, began to quit their station. Descending slowly, they hoped, by wheeling round the field of battle, to attack the victors in the rear. To counteract their design, Agricola ordered four squadrons of horse, which he had kept as a body of reserve, to advance to the charge. The Britons poured down with impetuosity, and retired with equal precipitation. At the same time, the cavalry, by the directions of the general, wheeled round from the wings,

and fell with great slaughter on the rear of the enemy, who now perceived that their own stratagem was turned against themselves. The field presented a dreadful spectacle of carnage and destruction. The Britons fled; the Romans pursued: they wounded, gashed, and mangled, the runaways; they seized their prisoners, and, to be ready for others, butchered them on the spot. Despair and horror appeared in various shapes: in one part of the field the Caledonians, sword in hand, fled in crowds from a handful of Romans; in other places, without a weapon left, they faced every danger, and rushed on certain death. Swords and bucklers, mangled limbs and dead bodies, covered the plain. The field was red with blood. The vanquished Britons had their moments of returning courage, and gave proofs of virtue and of brave despair. They fled to the woods, and, rallying their scattered numbers, surrounded such of the Romans as pursued with too much eagerness. Agricola was every where present. He saw the danger; and, if he had not in the instant taken due precaution, the victorious army would have had reason to repent of too much confidence in success. The light-armed cohorts had orders to invest the woods. Where the thickets were too close for the horse to enter, the men dismounted to explore the passes, and where the woods gave an opening, the rest of the cavalry rushed in, and scoured the country. The Britons, seeing that the pursuit was conducted in compact and regular order, dispersed a second time, not in collected bodies, but in consternation, flying in different ways to remote lurking places, solicitous only for their personal safety, and no longer willing to wait for their fellow-soldiers. Night

coming on, the Romans, weary of slaughter, desisted from the pursuit. Ten thousand of the Caledonians fell in this engagement: on the part of the Romans, the number of slain did not exceed three hundred and forty, among whom was Aulus Atticus, the prefect of a cohort. His own youthful ardour, and the spirit of a high-mettled horse, carried him with too much impetuosity into the thickest of the enemy's ranks. The Roman army, elated with success, and enriched with plunder, passed the night in exultation. The Britons, on the other hand, wandered about, uncertain which way to turn, helpless and disconsolate. The mingled cries of men and women filled the air with lamentations. Some assisted to carry off the wounded; others called for the assistance of such as escaped unhurt; numbers abandoned their habitations, or, in their phrensy, set them on fire. They fled to obscure retreats, and, in the moment of choice, deserted them; they held consultations, and, having inflamed their hopes, changed their minds in despair. They beheld the pledges of tender affection, and burst into tears; they viewed them again, and grew fierce with resentment. It is a fact well authenticated, that some laid violent hands upon their wives and children, determined, with savage compassion, to end their misery. The following day displayed to view the nature and importance of the victory. A deep and melancholy silence all around;* the hills deserted; houses at a distance involved in smoke and fire, and not a mortal discovered by the scouts: the whole a vast and dreary solitude. Agricola was at length informed by those who were sent out to explore

* “ *Vastum ubique silentium.*”

the country, that no trace of the enemy was any where to be seen, and no attempt made in any quarter to muster their forces. Upon this intelligence, as the summer was far advanced, and to continue the war, or extend its operations, in that season of the year, was impracticable, he resolved to close the campaign, and march his army into the country of the Horestians. That people submitted to the conqueror, and delivered hostages for their fidelity. Orders were now issued to the commander of the fleet to make a coasting voyage round the island. For this expedition a sufficient equipment was made, and the terror of the Roman name had already gone before them. Agricola, in the mean time, led his army into winter quarters, proceeding at the head of the cavalry and infantry by slow marches, with intent that, by seeming to linger in the enemy's country, he might impress with terror a people who had but lately submitted to his arms. The fleet, after a prosperous voyage, arrived at the Trutulensian harbour, and, sailing thence along the eastern coast, returned, with glory, to its former station.

APPENDIX, B.

WHILE these pages are in the press, we observe the following notice in the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal* of June, 1830:—"A coin of the Roman Emperor Hadrianus, coined about 1700 years since, and in excellent preservation, was found, a few weeks ago, in the garden of Mr Soutar, parish schoolmaster of Blairgowrie. The garden is situated hard by the remains of what was, about thirty years ago, a large cairn. About that time,

the stones fit for building were carried off, and an urn, containing some half-burnt bones, was found at the bottom of it. The cairn stands at the foot of the Grampians, on the ground on which tradition says a battle was fought between the Caledonians and the Romans, in which the latter were victorious, and pursued the retreating army to the summit of a craggy precipice, about two miles to the westward of Blairgowrie, still known by the name of *Craig Roman*." This is confirmatory of what we mentioned, p. 69, of the tradition universally prevalent, in this part of the country, of a great battle between the Romans and Caledonians being fought in the Stormont,* near Blairgowrie; and the cairn here referred to may be regarded a memorial of the conflict. But the coin of Hadrian, found in the schoolmaster's garden, affords no evidence of the site of the battle of *Mons Grampius* being in the neighbourhood. Galgacus was defeated by Agricola A. D. 84. Hadrian did not assume the purple till long after this memorable engagement; and on visiting Britain, he built the wall between Solway and Tyne, A. D. 121; thus withdrawing the boundary of the empire. Lollius Urbicus took the command A. D. 140; and having recovered Valentia, or the country between the walls, he built that of Antoninus, between the firths of Forth and Clyde: he afterward carried the Roman arms to the Moray Firth, reducing the region north of the Forth into the form of a province, which he named *Vespasiana*, in honour of the Flavian family, under whose auspices Agricola had first displayed the Roman ensigns

* *Stur*, in Runic, signifies "a battle:" *Stour*, in Saxon, has the same import; and *Stourment* "betokens the main battle."

in that country. This province was held for about thirty years by the Romans, or to A.D. 170. In tracing the 10th *Iter* of Richard of Cirencester, we have shewn that the Roman military road from *Ptoroton*, or Burgh-head, on the Moray Firth, which traversed the interior of the country, by Braemar, and the Spittal of Glenshee, passed through Blairgowrie toward the station *in medio*. We have also shewn that this station must have been at Meiklour, Inchtuthil, or Cupar Angus,—all places within a few miles of Blairgowrie; and the nearest of these stations is Meiklour, which we suppose to be *in medio*. The coin now found might be dropped by a Roman soldier on his march.

NOTICE OF VESPASIANA.

RICHARD of Cirencester, to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of the Roman province of Vespasiana, says, p. 31, *Hæc provincia dicta est in honorem familiæ Flaviæ, cui suam Domitianus Imperator originem debuit, et sub quo expugnata Vespasiana*.—"This province was named in honour of the Flavian family, to which the Emperor Domitian owed his origin, and under whom Vespasiana was subdued." But Richard appears to have been led into a mistake respecting the time when Vespasiana was conquered by the Romans. If Agricola had reduced this territory into the form of a province, the fact would undoubtedly have been mentioned by Tacitus in celebrating the great actions of his father-in-law, who was ordered home by Domitian soon after the battle of *Mons Grampius*. Tacitus, on the contrary, says, *Perdomita Britannia, et statim missa*. Referring

to that period, this historian draws a striking picture of the state of the Roman empire, in language inimitable, and which cannot be rendered properly, as no translation can convey the force of the original. *Turbatum Illyricum : Galliæ nutantes : perdomita Britannia, et statim missa : coortæ in nos Sarmatarum ac Suevorum gentes.*—“ Illyricum was disturbed : the Gauls were wavering : Britain was subdued, and immediately given up : the nations of the Sarmatæ, and Suevi, were rising in a tempest against us.”—Tacit. *Hist.* lib. I. 2.

1831.

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